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JUAN GRIS, Seated Man, Pencil, 1920.

ON THE RELATIONS OF PUBLIC ART AND PRIVATE ART

By Milton C. Nahm

WHEN I read those fine lines from Dryden's translation of Vergil,

. . . a shelfy coast

Long infamous for Ships, and Sailors lost,

And white with bones;

or A. E. Housman's,

These, in the days when heaven was falling, The hour when earth's foundations fled Followed their mercenary calling And took their wages and are dead;

when I look upon El Greco's Ecstacy in the Garden; on the fan-vaulting in Christ Church, Oxford, or on Kolbe's Adagio; hear Brahms' First Symphony or read Antigone—then I do not doubt that the experiences evoked are individual and personal nor that they are brought forth by unique and individual artistic skill, perhaps by artists who, as Plato thought, write "not by wisdom" but by "a sort of genius and inspiration." Nor do I doubt that these moods of beauty are neither simply subjective nor beyond estimation in objective terms, and that the experiences themselves are brought into existence and sustained in memory by objects and events universal in meaning, perhaps in an artistic experience which, as Hegel thought, permits men "to recognize in it their own dominating essential reality." So fully convinced am I that art is both private expression and public communication, that I shall argue that it is essential for public art to become private in order to be fine art and have aesthetic value, and no less necessary for private art to become public in order to be intelligible.

In the course of this argument that fine art is both private and public, we shall be confronted by the more inclusive problem of the nature of artistic creation. For the theories of art which need to be reconciled derive sustenance from two divergent accounts of another and still more pervasive problem, the creation of the world. To hold that art is personal and private experience is to

³ Presented as part of a symposium, Varieties of Artistic Value, College Art Association, New York, Jan. 30, 1947.

participate in the western tradition that man possesses creative powers analogous to those of God, the Creator in Genesis. To hold that art is objective and public communication is to be heir to a tradition in the west, no less compelling, that man exhibits potentialities for making, analogous to those of Plato's Demiurgos, the maker of the world in Timaeus. The most obvious difference between these more inclusive theories of creation and of making is that the former asserts that the world comes into existence ex nihilo, the latter that it is formed from pre-existent matter. It is, however, less with the status of matter than with the implications of its presence or absence that we are here primarily concerned. Its presence in the classical theory implies that "making" is a completely intelligible and objective process. Its absence in the theory of creation implies that God's action in bringing the world into existence is a miracle and, in its mystery, not wholly explicable on rational grounds. For the philosopher of art, it is of considerable significance that Plato's Demiurge, in imposing upon uncreated matter the externally existing "forms" and making after their model the structure of the universe, is envisaged as a world-artisan who encounters resistance in the very matter which provides necessity and limitation. Plato's God is neither omnipotent in making the world nor free to abrogate the laws of nature once the world has been made. The theory of creation in Genesis implies, on the contrary, that God is absolutely free, not only from the limitations imposed by matter but also, as the later tradition held, from the need to model the world after the "Ideas." Moreover, on this view of creation, God may change the order of nature, since to effect events which run counter to the laws of nature is in keeping with the tradition of miracles in the Old Testament.

For our purposes, as we become aware of those more pervasive influences upon theories of artistic production, it is important to observe that man, for Plato, is a microcosm of the macrocosm. Man "makes," therefore, in material, under the laws of technique or art, and, by analogy to the Demiurge, in "imitation" of the "Ideas." There is discernible, in consequence, in the classical treatment of art in the west, a tendency not only to regard the artist as an artisan but as one, the product of whose technical skill is the more "real" in proportion as it is the more typical or universal. On this view, the essence of art is public, communicable, and intelligible. It is no less important to notice that man, in the Judaic-Christian tradition, is created in the image of God. And as early as the writings of Philo of Alexandria, God's freedom to upset the laws of nature finds its analogue in the miracle of man's free will. But this freedom for man is not only the power to act in a responsible way, which means that the individual moral act is not wholly explicable in terms

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of the general laws of nature. It has meant, similarly, freedom to create the novel and the unique, without necessary recourse to the Platonic "Ideas." It is small wonder that a tradition intent upon establishing the immortality of the individual soul and the worth of personality should deny that the "real" is the typical or universal and should come to conclude that it is, rather, the individual essence. Without entering upon the tedious story of the conflict concerning universals in the Middle Ages, one may suggest the general turning away from the conception of the artisan whose making is primarily mimetic toward that of the artist as creator free to produce the individual and to transcend the "rules of art" in so doing. Beginning with St. Augustine's teaching that God's creation is not due to any "Idea" outside Himself, we shall shortly find one historical outcome in the Aesthetic of Benedetto Croce. For in Croce's theory, the relevance of aesthetic types to artistic or aesthetic creativity is denied completely; while the mystery of the miracle of creation is echoed, not only in the personal and subjective aspects of the theory, but in the words "the true artist . . . finds himself big with his theme, he knows not how; he feels the moment of birth drawing near, but he cannot will it or not will it." And as we shall discover, what is created is the incomparable individual.

The impact of these theories2 regarding the origin and the very nature of the world, upon philosophies of art-as well as the consequent need to investigate the possibility of reconciling the theories of private experience and public communication—is evidenced, however, no more significantly in authors who have come to regard "creation" and "making" as mutually exclusive than in writers who, however uncritically, assume that both may be accepted as true without conflict. As for the first, for a Sophocles who says of Aeschylus that he does "right without knowing it," or a Santayana who argues that the artist has dug "deep enough to tap the subterranean springs of his own life," there is always a Tolstoy who holds that there is an infectiousness in art, the "feeling that the recipient of a true artistic impression is so united to the artist that he feels as if the work were his own and not some one else's"; or a Housman who writes that "to set up in the reader's sense a vibration corresponding to what is felt by the writer is the peculiar function of poetry." As for the second school, one is often aware of a fine unconcern in their pronouncements that the artist is both "maker" and "creator." Thus, two writers upon literature -two men who differ as radically in cast of mind as time separates their physical existences—use both theories as if they were identical. George Puttenham,

What is given here is, of course, a bare outline of the problem. For its more complete analysis, see my article, "The Theological Background of the Theory of the Artist as Creator," Journal of the History of Ideas, Vol. IX, No. 3.

writing his The Art of English Poetry3 at the end of the sixteenth century, introduces his subject in this way: ". . . as we may say of God: who without any travell of his diuene imagination, made all the world of nought, nor also by any paterne or mould as the Platonicks with their Ideas do phantastically suppose. Even so the very Poet makes and contriues out of his owne braine, both the verse and matter of his poeme, and not by any foreine copie or example, as doth the translator." But Puttenham does not hesitate at once to assert that "without any repugnancie at all, a Poet may in some sort be said a follower or imitator, because he can expresse the true and liuely of euery thing is set before him, and which he taketh in hand to describe: and so in that respect is both a maker and a counterfaitor: and Poesie an art not only of making, but also of imitation." Again, the echo of the two traditions is heard, no less confused in the twentieth century than in the sixteenth, as John Galsworthy begins his Romanes Lecture on "The Creation of Character in Literature": "The whole question of character creation is mysterious," he writes, "... the process has no dossier, is devoid of documentation, and resists definition." But, at once, we learn that "what we know as the creative gift . . . in any art, is a more than normal power in certain people for dipping into the storehouse and fishing up odds and ends of experience, together with a special aptitude for welding or grouping those odds and ends when they are fished up."5

Thus, over the whole plain of artistic production, aesthetic experience, and fine art, have been cast the shadows of the greater speculative conflict concerning the nature of cosmic creation and, indeed, of creating itself. As I am convinced that the ultimate and needful relation of public and private art may be shown, so I am convinced that the two traditions of making and creating are not in fact incompatible. But as we turn our attention to the more restricted field of art, let us begin "our chace," to surround the unique and individual creative work of fine art, as David Hume did in another philosophical enterprise, "in the open country," in that isolated landscape called "personal aesthetic expression"; our "chace" will drive on to the public lands of public communication; swerve briefly through the heavily wooded country of communication itself, and run straight through the dismal swamps of the education of taste. We shall emerge, I trust, in full cry, with both private and pub-

² Op. cit., pp. 19-20, ed. Arber.

⁴The similarity of Puttenham's view of the artist to St. Augustine's argument concerning God's freedom in creating the world ex nihilo is striking, particularly in its reference to Plato's theory.

⁵ Op. cit., pp. 3-5.

lic art in sight, and both not too badly rent to be, in Plato's words, "healed and reunited in their original nature."

We may best begin our efforts to indicate how the ostensibly opposed theories of art, if taken properly together, constitute a theory of fine art, if we turn briefly to that boldest of hypotheses which, in insisting upon individualism in the theory of art as expression, concentrates upon the privacy of art and its experience. We find this in Benedetto Croce's identification of art and intuition. Croce wants an autonomous art and, having the courage of his convictions, realizes that no half-measures will suffice to establish art as "independent both of science and of the useful and of the moral." Now some theorists have both wanted their cake as well as the eating thereof and one such is Mendelssohn: "What any music I like expresses for me," writes the great musician, "is not thoughts too indefinite to clothe in words but too definite. . . . If you asked me what I thought on the occasion in question, I say the song itself precisely as it stands." But Croce sees clearly that so long as art is regarded as a work of art made by technical processes, it will be public and in some degree meaningful in non-aesthetic terms. He, therefore, relegates technique to the non-aesthetic realm of practice and denies that a work of art need be made. This denial, which follows upon the identification of art and intuition, is not only a declaration of freedom from "making," which is ordinarily taken to be the most evident means of establishing art in its public status; it also argues for the complete freedom of aesthetic experience from public or valid judgement, inasmuch as Croce identifies art and aesthetic judgement, genius and taste: "the activity of judgment which criticizes and recognizes the beautiful," he writes, "is identical with what produces it. . . . "6 If, therefore, art is in this negative sense free and private because it need not be made, judgement is, in aesthetic theory, similarly free, private, and nominal. Now any form of classification which proposes to be precise claims objectivity as judgement. It follows that any such public and valid judgement, which runs counter to the privacy of the aesthetic experience, will be denied relevance: "the sublime (or comic, tragic, humorous, etc.)," writes Croce, "is everything that is or shall be called by those who have employed these words." The asserted justification for this privacy and nominalism is the unique individuality of intuitions. Artists and aesthetic perceivers alike imagine "the individual expressive fact" and of

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⁶Benedetto Croce, Aesthetic as Science of Expression and General Linguistic, translated by Douglas Ainslie, p. 120.

¹ lbid., p. 90.

^{*} Ibid., pp. 67-68.

such facts Croce urges, "not one is interchangeable with another," because "every impression or content differs from every other content."9

At this point, I believe, one may safely argue that the compulsion to privacy in art has led to unintelligibility. Meaningful judgements are meaningful only if they are "capable of confirmation or refutation from an indefinite series of other points of view." But it is this very condition for meaningful judgement which is denied to art by Croce and it is denied on the grounds that neither comparison nor contrast of intuitions or expressions "considered directly or positively" can be made. Intuitions are "not divisible into classes," he argues, for, "How . . . can a comparison be made where there is no comparative term?" Croce admits only that intuitions resemble each other; the relation that holds among them is not one of identity but rather of "likenesses such as are observed among individuals which can never be rendered with abstract determinations." The consequence is that aesthetic judgements are absolutely free because they are wholly meaningless.

Now it is obvious that Croce has written an aesthetic which is itself a paradox, since patently the terms "art" and "intuition" are no more applicable to the "expressive facts" than are the terms "sublime" or "comic." But the fundamental paradox is that even for intuitions "considered directly or positively" there are "abstract determinations": in considering intuitions said to be wholly individual, Croce himself holds that the "expressive facts" which "are so many individuals" are interchangeable with one another in the "common quality of expression."12 But this means that they have in common not only the "abstract determinations" of "expression" and "art" and "intuition" but also of "individuality." Thus, we are led by thought's very demand for meaning to assert that common to such individuals or to novel uniqueness, is "individuality" or "novelty." In consequence, we find that the same word is characteristic of the individual and the common. But the paradox that even individuals belong to the class, "individuality," is less illuminating than what that fact tells us concerning meaning. It shows, in the first place, that the words "individual" and "common" mutually imply each other, precisely as do such terms as "husband" and "wife," or "right" or "left," and that each term of the pair is meaningless except in such a context, implicit or explicit. Secondly, it suggests that the implication that the "individual" is superior

[&]quot; Ibid., pp. 67-68.

¹⁰ E. A. Singer, Jr., Mind as Behavior, pp. 196-197.

¹¹ Croce, op. cit., p. 70.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 68.

in aesthetic value to the "common" is mere assertion and, even more significantly, is irrelevant at this level of discussion, since the terms in question are not evaluative but function only in terms of meaning. But, thirdly, it does suggest that as regards meaning, there is one relevant question, which is that of the logical priority or posteriority of the terms "individual" and "common." And, if we seriously consider the question, which of these terms, "common" or "individual," is, not aesthetically more valuable, but logically prior or posterior, there can be no doubt what our answer must be: in knowing, the common factor of the work of art is antecedent to its individuality. To recognize what a work of art is precedes knowing whether it is either novel, individual, or a distinguished individual of its class, and even to point presupposes knowing at what one is pointing. I should go even farther. The artist can produce an individual only if he is prepared to supply the work of art with needs of its kind. However extraordinary Picasso's blues may be, they are still blues and not spectroscopic indefinables. The artist has native capacities which permit him to use common forms and symbols and materials in individual ways.

What, then, is this common that must be made private in order to become fine art and which is required for intelligibility and communication? If we leave the realm of logical paradox, in which the individual is both novel and common, the "common" is "art within the reach of every man." And it would appear to be the obvious course to determine whether the condition for the common is not to be found in "making," if only because we have learned from Croce's audacity in denying the relevance of technique to art that wholly personal experience without "making" is not aesthetic but unintelligible. But we have more affirmative grounds for directing our attention to "making." Aristotle's distinction of "acting" and "making" for centuries secured for the art-object that very freedom from the artist which provided grounds for objectivity of judgement and for the formulation of rules in art-in a word, established art in its public nature. And, finally, I should re-introduce "making" because I agree with Bergson that it is in the invention of tools that intelligence differs from instinct, although both intelligence and instinct "have each as their essential object the utilization of implements."

The consequences for art of this deep-seated instinct for constructiveness will suggest themselves as we proceed. But while we may accept at the beginning the fact that the work of art is an object or event made, and therefore public, we cannot remain in that assumption long. Art produces something other than an object or event separated from the artist. It produces an ex-

pression of feeling in a separate medium of art—an idem in alio, as De Quincey expresses it, "the same impression . . . restored in a different material . . . by means of a different instrument." Art produces, in a word, a symbol, and, in more words, it produces a symbol made by processes through which the artist objectifies his feelings in the media of art. Hut art cannot symbolize mere feelings in "abstraction" because feelings are not mere abstractions. Moods, emotions, and instincts, which constitute the life of feeling, are attached to and aroused by incidents, events, ideas, and objects, and the work of art is thus a "sign" or "symbol" for the artist's feelings concerning the non-aesthetic aspects of his and our experience—in a sense "a simple produce of the common day." Finally, the work of art is a generic sign or class symbol, communicable because art revives primordial images, revives

The fair humanities of old religion, The Power, the Beauty, and the Majesty.

And these images live, not in the "faith of reason" but in the life of feeling which is, in part, recognitive and reproductive. Because of this, great art is familiar and there is in it a recurrence of symbols—symbols of the hunt and the chase, of danger and vengeance, chicanery, death, old age, change, tales of marriage of spring and winter, the passage of time and of the seasons, chance and love, the ladder and the tree of life, the isles of the blest, the demons and the werewolves of a hundred Beowulfs and Homers, tales of horror, the storied fables of the beneficence of warm sun and soft rain, of the mating of earth and heaven, the havoc of storm, hurricane, earthquake, tidal wave and typhoon, of plague and pestilence, of starvation, of war, of magic and of witchcraft. From these, art fashions symbols of the "old and universal arousers" and from them flow the attributes of familiarity, communicability, and meaning. The framework of reference for their meaning is the race of men and the culture of man. And from these racial and cultural symbols of the "wintry slayer," of death and rebirth, of light and divinity and immortality, profoundly moving art derives "the breath of early portent": grounds for communicability, universal symbols of the race of mankind, or limited symbols of his different and differing cultures.

As Plato remarks of justice, we search for the grounds for communication and its means only to find them tumbling at our feet in the record of

¹⁸ T. De Quincey, "The Antigone of Sophocles," Mason ed., Vol. X, p. 368.
¹⁶ I have dealt in detail with the problems of feeling and of the generic symbols of feeling in Aesthetic Experience and Its Presuppositions. The reader is referred particularly to Chapters XII-XIV of that volume.

feelings which men symbolize and make permanent in their art; that is, in the generic signs which are the common and natural possession of mankind and of cultures of men. At least one aspect of the common presupposition of fine art has been exposed and with it, the important implication that such generic symbols are of value for communication between men of the same or of different cultures. Indeed, a specific and significant aspect of this value implicit in all fine art is discoverable precisely in the fact that generic symbols provide an outlet for feelings in persons dependent upon the art of others for expression. It may be well to offer one instance of the use to which generic signs have been put, at once to illustrate this value and to emphasize the severe limitations which must be placed upon the possible claim that public communication is, in itself, fine art. In "Symbolism and Art-A Framework for Research," William E. Henry suggests that art be considered, at least in part, "another of the collective, institutionalized modes of expression of conflicts and values characteristic of individuals or groups in our society."15 In support of his thesis, Mr. Henry selects the greeting-card as a test case and discovers that it becomes "a means of communication between people, a device by which one individual conveys to another individual certain feelings and wishes—that these feelings are to be conveyed in terms of symbols which stand for the feelings." In this particular test, "the group acceptance of cards" followed "those personality characteristics which the group held in common."

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There is cold comfort to be drawn from one consequence of this investigation, namely, that in the testing of "900 typical greeting card customers," "cards that conformed to the directives" of the theorists who conducted the experiments "had been selected with seven times the frequency of those that did not conform to the theory." That one's taste may be so accurately foretold in the matter of greeting-cards because one is a member of a class may well lead the individual to examine his aesthetic sensibilities in the matter of such typical and generic symbols as the song of the "crooner," the radio "couplet," and the "capsule cliché." And as he does so, he—and we—may well begin to suspect that the search for communicability has indeed landed theory in an unenviable position. In examining art as private aesthetic experience, we approached the verge of solipsism and nominalism in theory's one-sided demand for individuality, uniqueness, and novelty at the expense of sufficient generality to assure communicability. To supply this lack, we sought the grounds for communicability and discovered them in the generic sym-

¹⁸ The Committee on Human Development, University of Chicago.

bols to which feeling attaches. We have discovered the answer to our question but we have discovered it at the expense of both originality and fine art. For if Hamlet and Orestes have much in common as "leaders," they also manifest fundamental differences arising from individual authorship and specific cultures. The theory of generic symbols provides us with the bases for communication, but not with criteria for distinguishing the holiday greeting card from Titian's The Descent from the Cross, the showboat melodrama from Oedipus Rex, the equestrian statue of the local hero from the Winged Victory of Samothrace, or the humble cottage from the Parthenon. Nor does it permit us to speak of the creative spirit explicit in all great art and in its making. We resemble those aficiandos of the movie who shout, as Mr. William Roberts remarks in a little number cailed "Cliff-Hangers," "We don't want it great, we want it Friday."16 And evidently what they want on Friday is precisely what I mean by the generic symbol unadorned by the uniqueness of fine art. For, continues Mr. Roberts with acumen and common-sense, "Whether you are an Incan, Arab, or Mongolian, it requires no elaborate explanation to realize that Jack Armstrong is in trouble when the steel walls of his cell start to close in and crush him to pulp."

Were such a theory of generic symbols propounded in all seriousness as a complete answer to the question: what is fine art and what is its value?, we should find that we had doomed the artist to overelaborate the obvious. We should rightly yield to temptation and flee to the embrace of that Taoist who holds that the artist presents us with a "vacuum" which we, in our turn, "must enter and fill up to the full measure of . . . aesthetic emotion." ¹⁷

The point is, of course, that in fine art we neither stop with the common and ubiquitous generic symbol nor start with the complete vacuum. We know, for example, that the crude superstition of the peasant is transformed by de Falla in El Amor Brujo, by Shakespeare in the characters of Caliban and Puck, and by Milton in his delineation of Satan; that the fancies of the seafarer are transfigured in Wagner's The Flying Dutchman, in Coleridge's The Ancient Mariner and in Debussy's Le Mer; that the universal and common knowledge of grief is altered by the poetry of the line, "She lay as though she had smiled," by the great prose of Hydriotaphia, and by the architecture of the Taj Mahal; and that the crudity of illicit love loses its sordidness in Dante's line, "That day we read no more."

¹⁶ This Week Magazine, Oct. 20, 1946.

¹⁷ Okakura-Kakazu, The Book of Tea, pp. 58-61; cf. O. Sirén, The Chinese on the Art of Painting.

Of course, we know more than this. One artist and one only could have written,

As one great Furnace flam'd, yet from those flames No light, but rather darkness visible. . . .

There is ultimately an identity of generic symbols in the lines,

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—here where the bone-edge frayed Grins white. . . .

and,

And in this harsh world draw thy breath in pain To tell my story.

But the lines bear the imprint of two unique artistic imaginations and the products themselves are not interchangeable.

The fundamental point is that we begin with generic signs which are actualized fully in the work of art and in aesthetic experience. In this sense, the work of art is not a vacuum. But what is required to induce aesthetic experience after the recognition of the familiar symbol is not implausibly likened to a vacuum, for—and this is crucial to an understanding of the relation of public and private art, of personal experience and public communication—aesthetic experience is no less a creative act than is the act of artistic creation.

It is easy to urge that, as the artist must be in a creative mood in order to produce a work of profoundly moving art, so we must be similarly in a creative mood to experience the profoundly moving product of his art.¹⁸ But the grounds for this are complex, as we discover if we test the adequacy of the true but misleading proposition that "the artist expresses the work of art." True enough, the artist does "express the work of art" but he does so not as the end of his creativity but rather as an instrument for the "image" he must

The view is hinted in various writings by poets and philosophers. Schiller, certainly one of the most sensitive and perceptive of writers on art, remarks that aesthetic experience "will endeavour to receive as it would itself have produced, and to produce as it aspires to receive." As Keats, in *The Tale of Hyperion* (i, 7-15), writes:

But bare of laurel they live, dream and die; For Poesy alone can tell her dreams, With the fine spell of words alone can save Imagination from the sable chain And dumb enchantment. Who alive can say "Thou art no Poet—mayst not tell thy dreams?" Since every man whose soul is not a clod Hath visions, and would speak, if he had loved And been well nurtured in his mother tongue."

objectify in order to make the aesthetic transaction possible. In order to "express" himself, the artist must "express" the "image" of the aesthetic experience, and the conditions for that transaction between artist and perceiver are, first, re-creativity, based on generic signs; second, creativity, based on individual symbols; and, finally, that end of art which is properly called the "creation of the creator." In spite of the reversal of the temporal order of the two acts of artistic making and aesthetic re-making, the same factors hold and must hold for artist and aesthetic perceiver.

We need keep in mind two points which follow upon this hypothesis that aesthetic experience is no less creative than artistic making, in order to account for the relation of private and public art. First, the work of art is so made that although its generic symbolism is actualized, some portion of its symbolism remains merely potential for the perceiver. Secondly, the essential relation of public and private art is achieved only when those potentialities within the work of fine art are actualized by the aesthetic perceiver; and they can be actualized only at the level of cultivated taste. The work of fine art is a bare and generic symbol for the natural man, but for the trained taste it is a symbol at once intense and profound, inexhaustible, and imaginatively allusive. The reason is both clear and important: the artist, in the process of making the work of art and of creating, actualizes the potentialities of the symbols and materials by individualizing and specifying. 19 We may approach the temporally reversed but for our purposes identical process of individualization either through an analysis of artistic making or aesthetic experience. In our approach to creation and the emergence of aesthetic values implicit in the relation of public and private art, we shall be engaged in two tasks. The first will have as its goal a completely meaningful judgement. The second will have as its ideal completion, the approach to that limit of our own creative efforts in which we are, at least analogously, productive artists. This approach becomes possible by the examination of the education of taste.

As for the first, you will recall that in examining Croce's theory, I inferred that the absolutely free judgement is permitted because it is regarded as the meaningless one. The wholly meaningful one will be, therefore, the absolutely limited one, i.e., one completely restricted to the aesthetic experience of the work of art after the fullest comparison and contrast of the art-object in the various levels of meaning through which our analysis takes us. By ascertaining the levels through which the generic symbol, in all its public and non-aesthetic

²⁹ Compare Carlyle's words, "In a symbol there is concealment and yet revelation."

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character, is carried through the higher and more specified orders of still non-aesthetic values by means of increasingly individualized aspects of making, we approach the individualized and unique symbol of fine art and aesthetic value. For we know what an individual of a class is (in this instance, object or event or symbol belonging to the class, work of art), if we know not only what it is but what it is not or what it has been, i.e., how it differs from other members of its genus and by what processes it comes to be unique.

As for the second task, the education of taste, we discover that it is but a specific form of all education,²⁰ the "second creator," which reforms and sustains the natural gifts, virtues, and skills of man by showing him alternative modes of thoughts and actions unknown to natural man, and supplying the tools with which he exercises power and secures control over what his imagination is trained to display. We begin, then, with the natural values explicit in fine art and aesthetic experience, including the explicit generic symbols, and proceed towards their individualization as aesthetic values. We do not begin ex nihilo but with the work of art made with symbols initially selected for the expression of the artist's feelings in media upon which has been imposed the discipline of making. And that initial manifestation of the principle of idem in alio relieves us of the need to regard the entire universe as the context of meaning for this datum called work of art.

As we begin with the natural values explicit in fine art²¹ and aesthetic experience and proceed towards their individualization as aesthetic values implicit in the work of art, we enter the realm of philosophy, for we discover at once that man is concerned naturally with such problems as form and matter; that he is a creature of means and ends, i.e., he has "art"; and that he interprets things and events by logic in terms of signs and symbols. We enter the realm of psychology, for man is likewise a creature for whom materials have an initial sensuous attractiveness; he is no less a creature pleased or displeased by certain forms and configurations; and he reacts in certain fairly well defined ways to events like death, loyalty, and light. We enter the realm of anthropology, for man is a creature of social organizations and beliefs.

From this general level of naturalism, in which we examine the natural values of art, we proceed to more specific fields, i.e., fields in which these natural values acquire individualization. Aesthetics, which brings to the more

²⁰ Cf. my article, "The 'Common Man' and His Education," *Ethics*, Oct., 1945.

²¹ The general philosophical method implies the relation of experience and reflection. The theory of the Golden Section Ratio, for example, is the scientific explanation, i.e., reflection, upon the artist's "rule of thumb," i.e., experiencing.

circumscribed world of art and aesthetic experience immediate specifications of philosophy, may convert, for example, the general problem of form and matter into "significant form" and thus examine together the speculative problem of form and matter and the means-end relation which, characterizing man as having an art, manifests itself in "making" or constructiveness. Aesthetics also specifies general psychological theories, such as that of feeling, into hypotheses like empathy, tactile values, and katharsis; directs anthropology towards archaeology and ethnology, to provide us with the history of developing tools, the chronicle of available materials, transportation, and cultural values.

From these more general approaches to art and from the still natural level of values, we proceed to more specific levels. But we do so and can do so because all education comprises two factors, a knowledge of tools, i.e., the instruments by means of which man controls and understands nature and human nature; and the acquisition of experience, i.e., the means by which he makes that knowledge truly his own. In the education of taste, our first interest is in tools, an interest which may be satisfied because the work of art derives from the non-aesthetic framework to which its symbols refer and from the non-aesthetic realm of making which is the manifestation of the instinct for the use of instruments. In consequence, the work of art is a tool for the understanding of a culture, a veritable microcosm of the macrocosmic culture. As such a signifying tool-or "unconscious symbol"-, the work of art is susceptible to precise analysis in its context of meanings of symbols by the iconologist, who specifies philosophy's organon of logic, and by the archaeologist and historian of art who bring their science to the instruments and materials available for the making of the work of art.22

The work of art is not, however, merely a microcosm of man's experience in general and of the culture in which it is produced. It is a tool by means of which we discover the more specific and individual nature of art implicit in art's morphology or structure. For the signs and symbols are presented in specifiable material structures. The natural values of form and matter, having been superseded by "significant form," may give way, in turn, to "concrete significant form." The natural values implicit in "making" as a process or technique, having been made explicit in the externalization of symbols by the principle of idem in alio, may now become objects for contemplation in their

A good example is provided by Stanley Casson's study of materials and importations in *The Technique of Greek Sculpture*. Cf. my article, "Art as One of the Bridges of Cultural Understanding," Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion, 1945.

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own right. But the historian of art and the critic are at this level interested in this inter-relation of meanings and forms in the conjoining of generic symbols and generic techniques, not, however, in isolation but in morphological terms, —modes, styles, stylizations which operate variously in divergent media, in various arts, and in various eras.²⁸

The stage in which signs and symbols are presented in specifiable material structures and in which the problems of style and modes arise, is the forecourt of that in which private and public art are conjoined in fine art: the transition stage in the education of taste, from art judged as a tool to art regarded as experience, from generic rules of art to the art of the individual maker. Paradoxically enough, the study of art as a tool shows that the study of tools transcends tools, for not only are we freed to realize objectively the constant contribution of these non-aesthetic values to aesthetic experience; we are also and more significantly initiated, through their agency, into the creative imaginative experience. Briefly, the process which culminates in the conjoining of public and private art appears to me to be as follows: the transition in the education of taste from tools to experience occurs because it is vital to attain to the more specific succeeding level of value, the experiencing, i.e., the living through and re-thinking under the discipline of the artist, the knowledge, information, and technical skill which have been objectified in the work of art. Experiencing and experience mature us and, in fine art, this maturation is the growth of the creative life of the imagination as it operates in the realm of "conscious," individualized, and selected symbols, in contrast to unconscious, generic, and at least sometimes inadvertently used symbols and techniques.

The means by which this succeeding level is achieved is the process of "making," the very process discarded by Croce to ensure art's privacy and novelty. By means of making, at the high level in which construction is not taken to be the aesthetic value of form itself, art moves from public to private, from generality to individuality; and, in the process, we are freed not only from the non-aesthetic uses of and judgements upon fine art, but we are freed to have an aesthetic experience within the limitations and under the laws of materials and techniques. By the instrumentality of "making," sign, symbol of

³⁸ Many problems of a general character arise at this level of analysis: Is Schopenhauer correct in formulating a theory which separates music from other arts? If Dali and Eliot disagree concerning the nature of the initial stimuli which caused the artist to produce, is the difference in theory the consequence of a difference in the arts, in the precision of the symbols available in the arts, or in the unique differences which hold among artists?

feeling, and morphology are united. "Making" at this level is neither merely craft, style, technique, nor object for contemplation, 24 but becomes a process integral to the morphology of fine art. In consequence of its operation, there open before the aesthetic perceiver avenues which the imagination of natural man never makes evident. What for the uneducated imagination or taste may be merely mimetic, realistic, adeptness with tools, attractiveness of materials, familiarity of symbols, or, indeed, all of these in separation, is for the educated taste the private rendering of each of these natural aspects in an aesthetic whole which sustains them restored in individuality and uniqueness. And I mean restored in the sense that the merely potential symbolism and technique employed by the artist are now made explicit by the knowledge and imagination of the aesthetic perceiver.

I have suggested elsewhere how I believe this conjoining is brought about and I shall content myself merely to indicate the principal factors in the process: In the first place, complexity is introduced into the work of art by tools which, implicit in the work of art, widen the scope of creative imagination and maintain it in productivity. Secondly, temporal spread, the subjective aspect corresponding to complexity, permits the necessary scope for the imaginative process. Thirdly, the natural value of unity, which initially marks off the work of art from the whole universe of meanings and objectifies the symbols of feeling through the artist's imposition of form on media, is converted in fine art to internality. Internality functions as part of the law of organic wholes and excludes the accidental and irrelevant in even such ostensible instances of externality as the site of the building in relation to the building's structure. Fourthly, both "temporal spread" and internality are further specified to become conditions for diversity in unity. Fifthly, there emerges the order of specific intervals, at which juncture what on the nonaesthetic level is merely craft or technique, becomes in structural terms the process by means of which the artist controls the order and frequency of images within the work itself, to provide limiting criteria for intelligibility and economy within the structure of the work of art.

At this very high level, the individual artist can at once clarify theoretical problems implicit in the meaning of symbols, as well as display technical mastery over media, because the factors which I have mentioned operate to manifest aesthetic potentialities in the media of the arts themselves. There emerges, in consequence, a kind of rhythm in fine art, evident in the subtle

²⁴ Cf. Samuel Alexander's "Art and Instinct," pp. 6-7 et seq.

variations of theme and motif within the style or mode, in the balance of masses of figures and shades, in the consequent leading of the eye of the observer to a central point or from line to line in a painting, for the purpose of organizing the sensuous and symbolic aspects of the work of art in terms of form. The functions of this rhythm, i.e., repetition, harmony, and diversity in unity, most immediately evoke the aesthetic experience in their capacities to present to the imagining mind itself the alternative intrepretations latent in the images called the work of art.

These factors are the specifications of the original formula, idem in alio, which it will be recalled, is the most general characterization of the instinct for making by means of which the artist objectifies his feelings in another medium. At the highest aesthetic level, the disciplined, differentiated, and specified application of the formula forces the attention of the perceiver to the unique characteristics of the unique work of art. Then, indeed, the work of fine art is, analogically, an organism operating in terms of a single function through complexity and diversity of parts. For, most significantly, "where the structure forces us to appreciate" each specific part of a work of fine art, "it is natural and in the order of things for us to dwell on all modifications affecting the general result or type."25 In works of art which do not achieve the status of fine art and which remain, as it were, suspended in the public realm, to "emphasize" such specific parts is "unmeaning." In fine art, on the contrary, attention to symbol, media, technique, and relation of parts is essential both for the making and re-making of the datum and each part assumes its proper and irreplaceable position in the whole. Through such attention, public art becomes private, the intelligible becomes more rather than less intelligible, and the uniqueness of the individual is sustained in the generality of the class.

If, as I believe, private and public art are thus "healed and reunited in their original nature" through the education of taste, it should be emphasized that the context of that "healing" is creativity. But it is a creativity which has its source no less in the classical theory of making than in the tradition of creation. The artist creates in making unique the common symbols of our experience; the aesthetic perceiver creates in making individual the common symbols proffered by the artist to ensure communicability.

The theory put forward in this essay has emphasized the intelligibility of the processes involved in the creative experience and the objectivity of criti-

²⁵ Gerard Manley Hopkins, The Note-Books and Papers of Gerard Manley Hopkins, p. 94.

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cism and judgement which are consequent upon a reflective attitude toward fine art. The implications of the classical theory are here evident and predominant. We do well to approach fine art as Wordsworth approached the world:

How exquisitively the individual Mind
(And the progressive powers perhaps no less
Of the whole species) to the external World
Is fitted:—and how exquisitely, too—
Theme this but little heard among men—
The external World is fitted to the Mind;
And the creation (by no lower name
Can it be called) which they with blended might
Accomplish:—this is our high argument.

Nevertheless, we should remember that the contribution of the western tradition of creation has its proper place in the philosophy of art and indeed, one no less indispensable than is that of the theory of making. For the road from public communication to private experience is long and arduous for two distinct reasons. The "chace" with which our account began has led us past necessary sign-posts upon which may be read counsels of perfection. It is evident that we must content ourselves with such counsels, since it is clear that no man or group of men possess the skill and knowledge requisite to inform us fully concerning the natural and aesthetic values implicit in one work of profoundly moving art.

But even if this be granted, the incompleteness of any analysis of the relation of public and private art may not be attributed solely to either a failure in, or an incompleteness of, scientific technique. Rather, it would be in some part due to a factor in the context of our analysis, a factor which is the valid ground for the theory that the artist is the creator of what is private, individual, and indefinable. The unique individual work of fine art is ultimately beyond exhaustive analysis. The proponents of the theory of creation have been all too well aware of this fact, with the result that they have made of fine art a miracle and of aesthetic experience a mystery. What they have not realized is that the individual work of fine art is not an abstraction got by separating class and individual. It is, rather, a goal of perfected knowledge which we progressively approach by means of analysis of classes. In this sense, the unique and individual work of art is a "limiting conception," definable but unattainable, which serves at once as a measure of our present achievement in knowing and as a goal for our future efforts to augment our knowledge. The theory that the work of art is a unique individual does not

mean that we need relinquish either the grounds for objective judgement or the bases for public communication. Philosophy of art has need neither for miracles nor for mysteries. It need only accept conditions which hold for the acquisition of all knowledge: the belief that knowledge may be increased and the conviction that additions to knowing are without limit.

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THE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF THE ARTIST

By George Boas

THOUGH it is a commonplace to speak of "The Artist" as if there were only one, as we speak of "The Philosopher," "The Scientist," and "The American," there is a certain danger in such usage. It cannot be denied that all people called "artists" have something in common; so do all people called "Americans." But when one studies problems arising from the behavior of such people, it is sometimes important to look for the differences between them. Thus all people who sell things are called "merchants," but the merchant who sells umbrellas does not present the same problem to society as the merchant who sells opium or firearms nor can the social responsibilities of the latter group be derived from those of all merchants. For the simple contemplation of the abstract idea of "merchanthood" would never tell one that merchants of opium or revolvers even exist. One of the great weaknesses of aesthetics is precisely this habit of beginning with the most general and sweeping terms in the lexicon of art and thus failing to spot those specific differences out of which our real problems as living human beings grow.

The social responsibility of the artist, for instance, does not arise because one man is presenting pictures to the public and another presents sounds; their responsibilities grow out of the kinds of pictures and the kinds of sounds which these men present. Again, the responsibilities do not arise because one man is making things in three dimensions and another in two; or because one man is using words and another gestures. Such differences exist, of course; it would be foolish to ignore them. But the problems which confront the various kinds of artists living in society are not technical or even "aesthetic" in one traditional meaning of that vague word and cannot be detected if the eye of the observer is trained exclusively upon such elements of works of art as beauty, color, rhythm, balance, and so on. They arise because the artist, whatever medium, whatever rules, whatever form, whatever tradition he may have happened to choose, is still a man among men.

Even if we confine ourselves to the realm of pictures, we shall see that there are at least four kinds of artists, and these four kinds are only a minimum.

¹ Based on a lecture given to the first and second year classes of The Cleveland School of Art, February 28, 1947.

In actual fact there are many more. For one way of classifying the arts is through the human needs, both on the part of artists and of the people who look at their pictures and read their books, whom we shall call the public.

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1. There are first, though not necessarily the most important, those artists whom we may term "narrative." Telling stories and listening to them just happens to be one of the main interests in life. From the simple English ballad to the sophisticated psychological novel runs a single purpose, clarifying a course of human affairs, clarifying it in different ways, to be sure, but picking out of the innumerable details that surround any human adventure those which seem most relevant. The story-picture, except in our newspaper cartoons and comic-strips and the silent movies, is perhaps not so common as it used to be. Indeed, about a generation ago illustrative pictures, anecdotal painting, were considered by the illuminati to be beneath the serious consideration of the critic. We used to sneer at the Holman Hunts and the Landseers, the Alma-Tademas and the Orchardsons, as if they were of a lesser breed of men, forgetting that after all Giotto, Raphael, Ghirlandaio, Piero della Francesca, Masaccio, in fact, most of the great fresco painters of the Italian Renaissance also told stories. The difference between Giotto's Deception of Esau and Orchardson's Her Mother's Voice certainly does not lie in the fact that the latter is anecdotal and the former not. They are both story-telling pictures, whatever other differences they may exhibit. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that some very intelligent human beings have expressed an intense admiration for anecdotal pictures which we are likely to find sentimental and downright funny. One has only to read Ruskin's comments on Holman Hunt's The Awakening Conscience to see that one does not have to be a fool to admire pictures which we do not admire today. Museums have an unfortunate habit of buying only what their Accessions Committees believe to be fine pictures, so that the public has little opportunity to appreciate how relative taste is, relative not merely to that mysterious something known as "the times," but also to the deepest human needs, felt by some of the most sensitive people at a given time. Whether the desire to tell stories and to listen to them will ever die out, I certainly have no way of knowing, but to date it has always existed and has usually been satisfied. It is true that people who paint narrative pictures today, people like Norman Rockwell, are usually appreciated by men and women who in literature prefer Faith Baldwin to Virginia Woolf, but even those who prefer Virginia Woolf still admire Giotto.

2. A second group of artists is that which we might call "lyrical," for want of a better name. A painting like Odilon Redon's Head of Orpheus, Henri Rousseau's Dream, Dali's Puzzle of Autumn, Peter Blume's Parade, whatever

their origin in history or mythology, no more tell a story than a song of Shakespeare's does. If one were required to translate these images into words, one would be tempted to use those odd emotional terms which are used by composers to indicate the mood of their music, words like "joyful," "majestic," "stately," "tender," "fiery," only composers ordinarily put them in Italian. It is difficult to believe that anyone looking at Redon's Head of Orpheus would have any emotion, except possibly bewilderment, if he did not know the story of Orpheus, but at the same time the picture does not tell that story, does not show the wild women tearing the divine singer's body to pieces and throwing the pieces into the Hebrus River. Now whether a song expresses an emotion or arouses an emotion need not concern us here; we can be satisfied with noting that songs exist and that the interest which they satisfy is not that of narration, but lies predominantly in the realm of feeling. Moreover, songs are not necessarily "about" anything; their words are often nonsensical, trivial, or commonplace. I should imagine that most people would admit the music of Purcell's Dido and Aeneas to be of a very high quality and such an aria as Dido's famous Lament to be very moving. But Nahum Tate's libretto has only the merit of supplying some English syllables to be sung to it. So such paintings as some of Magnasco's or Salvator Rosa's, or, to take more recent examples, some of the abstractions of Juan Gris or Braque, some of the horror-pictures of Picasso, like the Guernica mural, may start from an historical incident, may seem to illustrate a fact, but they are not about that incident or fact; they are about themselves.

3. There is a third type of picture which has been called "impressionistic" and which is paralleled in literature by the poems of the Imagists and in music by some of the compositions of Debussy. Amy Lowell's Patterns was, as we know from her manifestoes, deliberately conceived to present nothing but a set of designs without thoughts, particularly without deep thoughts, and by "thoughts" was meant statements of philosophic or moral relevance. It will be recalled by high school students that when Bryant addressed a poem to a water-fowl, he felt it necessary to find a moral lesson in his very vivid description of the flight of that bird: namely, that God would guide the poet in his path through life as He was presumably guiding the bird. When Emerson came upon a rhodora in the woods, he felt it incumbent upon him to point out in his poem on the flower that its existence out there unperceived by human eye was a lesson in aesthetics: namely, that beauty is its own excuse for being. But the impressionistic artist thinks such deep thoughts rather absurd. When Monet paints Apples and Grapes or Seurat the Bay of Grandcamp, it is certainly not to teach us the value of fresh fruit as an article of diet or the

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dangers of navigation in fishing smacks. So when Debussy composed Jardins sous la Pluie, it was not to comment on the values of gardens or of rain. Your impressionist, when he is a painter, seems to believe that sensations, colors, sights, lines, movements, masses, are of interest in themselves. The painter of flowers may of course illustrate seed-catalogues, but his work may also be produced without reference to horticulture. We shall leave it to psychologists to explain why we are interested in other people's sensations and why other people are interested in recording theirs. We are simply pointing out that such an interest exists.

4. Finally, there is the artist who may be called "hortatory." The best example that comes to mind is Daumier. There is scarcely a painting or drawing of Daumier which does not pass judgment on the human race. The Rue Transnonain, however magnificent as a sample of the artist's virtuosity, is also a terrible comment on an incident that occurred under Louis-Philippe. His series of lawyers, his bathers, his railroad scenes, his caricatures of classical tragedy are individually and collectively criticism. They are supposed to change people's minds, not simply to record, to tell stories, to express emotion, though they also do those things. It is very hard to believe that the frescoes which used to be in the Camp Santo in Pisa, the Triumph of Death, for instance, were not supposed to teach a lesson, or that the little known panels of Borromino, in which skeletons go through the common motions of human beings-making love, painting pictures, and so on-were not also supposed to preach the vanity of human wishes. There are great and small artists who go in for this sort of thing and the satisfaction of this interest again traverses the fields of the various arts. I have seen dances which were supposed, according to the program notes, to preach brotherly love and even to denounce the exploitation of the Mexican peon. Exhortation may be done well or ill, like narration; its themes may be out of date or contemporary; but that it is a common human interest is undeniable.

The fact that the kinds of art correspond to human needs does not imply that the public will use them for the purpose that artists originally intended. It is possible that a narrative picture will lose its narrative interest and be highly valued for something else. So Matisse once maintained that he greatly admired Giotto's frescoes at Padua and had no idea what Giotto was illustrating. We may still admire the sculpture of fifth century Greece without believing in Greek paganism just as we may admire Chinese landscapes without turning into Taoists. There is reason to believe that when the Merchant of Venice was first produced, Shylock was a comic character. We know that no one before Gautier and Walter Pater ever thought of the Mona

Lisa as a symbol of enigmatic womanhood—for the simple reason that womanhood was not enigmatic before the nineteenth century. Studies made in one of my seminars show conclusively that even when the works of art are intensely admired over a long period of time, the admiration is often based on conflicting interpretations of them. I have seen a Russian catalogue of pictures in which seventeenth century Dutch still-lifes were interpreted as symbols of the commercial class's exclusive interest in their bellies. The history of taste is the best possible evidence not only of the actual life of works of art, how they grow, shrink, change, die, are resurrected, but also of something more fundamental for men and women who are going to artists: the multivalence of the works of art. It just happens to be false that a given work of art always retains the value which it had when it was made, the value which the artist intended it to have, one value for all who saw it.

For an artist cannot avoid interpretation. A picture once made is simply dead oil and pigment until someone looks at it. Stuck in a closet, it is like music which is never played, books which are never read. A picture comes to life when it is perceived, and at that moment the perceiver contributes something to his perception. His contribution comes from his total past. We look at pictures, as we read books, with our whole minds, not simply with our eyes, for they are mere lenses through which light rays pass. This is certainly not an innovation in aesthetic theory, but it is a principle which has been sadly neglected. The result of it is that a picture is bound to be one thing to one man, another to another, except in so far as all men are alike, either because of their original nature or because of their education. The "meaning" of a picture inevitably depends in part on whoever interprets it, just as a language does. I do not say that it depends entirely on the interpreter, for that would be sheer nonsense. For the interpreter is clearly limited by the objective character of the picture before him. For example, though Pater may have seen in the Mona Lisa a symbol of enigmatic womanhood, the incarnation of Saint Anne, Helen of Troy, and Leda, he could not have seen in it a symbol of the Happy Warrior or of Piety Triumphing over Vice. Even a critic who insists on treating all pictures as if they were hieroglyphs has to base his interpretations on the material shape and color of the hieroglyph. Hence what I say does not constitute a flat subjectivism. But it does recognize and urges others to recognize that every work of art, not merely music, has to be interpreted by the person who sees or hears it.

It is at this point that the social responsibility of the artist, whatever his personal ambition, arises. He is one of the few people who leave their works behind them. Most of us die leaving but the most evanescent traces of our

existence, a few words, a few acts, a child or two, a name in a family Bible, a tombstone, and even these sink into oblivion after a few years. But as long as a picture, a book, a building remains, it remains as the objectification of a man's thoughts, his feelings, his repressions, his hopes, his hatred, his love. He himself may disappear, as so many painters of the Byzantine tradition have disappeared. But so long as his works survive, someone will look at them and will interpret them as he pleases. That the interpretations will often be incorrect in the sense that they were not foreseen by the artist, is undoubtedly true. But that merely adds to the obligation to be as clear as possible. The only way of avoiding all chance of misinterpretation is to commit suicide, for as soon as one lives, breathes, speaks, acts, one runs the risk of being misunderstood. One has only to read a series of book-reviews or art-criticisms to see how great a variety of interpretations may be evoked by a given work of art. These interpretations are not simply in the field of spontaneous liking and disliking, but also in that of approbation and disapprobation.

For the artist, however isolated he may choose to think himself, is still in contact with other men. Degas, misanthropic, almost a recluse, hiding many of his pictures, hating schools and aesthetic dogmas, was nevertheless seen by one of the most sensitive people of his time, Huysmans, as a naturalist, commenting upon contemporary life, interpreting it satirically, caustically, even in such apparently neutral works of art as his Petit danseuse de quartorze ans. If one compares his ballerine with the dancers of, for instance, Lancret, can one avoid seeing social comment in them? To some of us, as to Huysmans, Degas's dancers are working girls, angular, ill-fed, bony, tired. We are not forced to pay attention to this aspect of them, for we are not forced to compare them to those of Lancret or of anyone else. In fact, it would be more appropriate to compare them with those of the late Louis Kronberg. But to maintain that one should close part of his mind when looking at a picture, is to base criticism on a kind of dogmatic bigotry, as if one could turn this and that part of one's mind on and off like a faucet. Hence in spite of himself, everyone living stands for something, if only for the program of social indifference.

Such remarks are no doubt obvious in the case of the narrative and hortatory artists. What of the lyrical and impressionistic? Poets may not be, as Shelley said they were, the unacknowledged legislators of the world, but the history of art in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has shown, among other things, that they are often more sensitive to currents of social change, to existing evil, more intuitively awake to impending disaster, than statesmen. What statesman, or even social philosopher, has been more awake to the horror of our age than the Picasso of the bone-period? Who has expressed the loneliness of modern

man better than Chirico in some of his pictures? The thesis could be sustained that the paintings of the surrealists were intimations of the spread of frustration and conflict, set down in objective form long before most of society was aware of their importance. Has there ever been a great artistic movement which could be understood in purely "aesthetic" terms? Even Pre-Raphaelitism, with which most of us are out of sympathy today, was a total program of life, not simply a new way of making pretty pictures. Can one correctly interpret impressionism apart from the positivistic movement in philosophy and science? For that matter, even the official academic art of the Second Empire, as can be seen from the speeches of the Minister of Fine Arts which usually preface the catalogues of the Salons, was closely related to the total program of this Ersatz-Renaissance. One does not have to be aware of the movement in which one is carried along, any more than one is aware of the movement of the earth through space. It is, however, the responsibility of the intelligent man to be as wide awake as possible, to understand his age, however complex, and to perceive his own place in it. Responsibility does not always lie in the field of leadership; sometimes it lies in the field of interpretation. Simply to tell the truth is a responsibility, one might think, whether one does anything about it or not.

But none of this means that an artist must be subservient to the social order or to any particular social order which some philosopher would like to see realized. There will be but few Daumiers in any period, few Goyas, and in the long run all that can be asked of a man is to be sincere, however restricted his talents may be. The danger comes when a professor of art, seduced by some over-simplified theory of aesthetics, demands that all his pupils satisfy the one set of human needs which he likes to satisfy, trying to turn lyrical painters into propagandists and story-tellers into impressionists. If I am right in finding a multiplicity of values in any work of art, then I am also right in insisting that the creating of one type alone is a program of impoverishment. Deliberate impoverishment of life is a kind of asceticism which may find favor in some eyes; I am dogmatically asserting that it is evil.

Johns Hopkins University

UNKNOWN AMERICAN PAINTERS OF THE 19TH CENTURY¹

By John I. H. Baur

THE pursuit of an unknown artist is much like exploring a dark room where the hand yields clues which often look surprisingly different when light is finally admitted. This is particularly true of 19th century American art because so much of the field still lies outside contemporary knowledge. We are beginning to realize that our traditional judgements were over-simplified, that it was a period of greater complexity and variety than was heretofore thought. As a result, we have no comfortable yardstick by which we can safely infer the character of the work that is still unknown. In the case of some recent rediscoveries, for instance, there was no precedent to forecast the unique character of the painting of Martin J. Heade, of John Quidor or of Erastus Salisbury Field. The clues to many artists of equal promise are still slender, but it is not until these have been explored with a fresh eye and a large measure of patient research that we can hope to see finally the full richness of this country's 19th century art.

A totally unknown painter is plainly destined to oblivion. There must be a starting point of enough interest to stimulate exploration, although the clue may give only a partial or even an erroneous idea of the artist's work as a whole. Three estimates, thus revised, in the author's own experience are perhaps relevant before turning to some still unknown men who seem to merit further research.

With John Quidor, for example, it was the rather theatrical canvas, The Return of Rip Van Winkle, now owned by the A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, which gave promise of a talent worth investigating. Formerly in the Thomas B. Clark Collection, the picture had been frequently reproduced and exhibited, but was apparently the only one of his paintings generally known. As further works by Quidor began slowly to turn up, however, the artist emerged as one of the unusual romantic painters of his time with a remarkably sensitive, varied and expressive style. In a day dominated by a tight and generally realistic handling, he could paint such a

¹ Based on a paper read on Feb. 1, 1947, in the program of studies in American Art, during the annual meeting of the College Art Association.

picture as Leatherstocking Meets the Law (New York State Historical Association) with a free brushwork and an exaggerated action admirably suited to the Cooper story. A developed color sense, almost impressionist, is apparent in the early canvas, The Money Diggers (Mrs. Sheldon Keck) with its reflected green lights and its touches of pure reds, yellows and greens in the face of the figure at the left. Later, color almost disappeared from Quidor's work and was replaced by a sensitive calligraphic line combined with monochromatic glazes. An example of the new style is the head of Wolfert in the painting Wolfert's Will (fig. 1). Some of these qualities were of course foreshadowed by the Rip Van Winkle picture but there was no precedent either in it or in other paintings of the period for the romantic scope revealed by the discovery of Quidor's work as a whole.

Even in the case of much better known artists than Quidor, research generally turns up surprises which affect our evaluation of the artist and eventually of the period. Eastman Johnson, for instance, was fairly well known for many years as a portrait painter and for his rather tightly handled, anecdotal genre subjects such as The Old Kentucky Home (New York Public Library). Half forgotten were his slightly later experiments with light and atmosphere, apparent in such Nantucket paintings as In the Fields (Detroit Institute of Arts) or Woman on a Hill (Addison Gallery of American Art). Virtually unknown were his still more advanced experiments with light and color embodied in a series of scenes from a Maine maple sugar camp. Yet it is the Nantucket and the Maine pictures that give the measure of Johnson's growth and link him to the parallel development of Homer in the same years. In this case research revealed not a unique talent like Quidor's, but an unexpected participation in the main progressive movement of his day.

Born a generation later, Theodore Robinson was one of the first of our native painters to come under the direct influence of French Impressionism and to adopt its broken color technique. Like Johnson, he could scarcely be called a forgotten artist, but the reconstruction of his career brought out two little known facts, which are perhaps less surprising than illuminating. Most important was the revelation of the character of Robinson's early work before his friendship with Monet converted him to Impressionism. Such a picture as the *Haying* (Otsego County Historical Society) shows his close allegiance to the Homer and Eakins tradition of factual realism tempered by an interest in *plein air* effects. This explains in turn Robinson's later modification of the French formula, his unwillingness ever to dissolve form completely in light and color. It explains also the second and more surprising fact that he often painted his figure compositions at least partially from photo-

graphs. Some of the artist's photographic studies are still owned by descendants and comparison with the corresponding canvases demonstrates how closely he followed the camera's vision. His diaries indicate that this was a measure of economy to save time with the model, also that it was a device more widely used by his contemporaries than is generally realized. Still, it is scarcely conceivable that a French Impressionist would have found the method acceptable. It was only because Robinson was so strongly rooted in a realist tradition that he could attempt to combine the unselective photographic image with a degree of sensuous color. Robinson's case sheds at least a little more light on the American Impressionist movement as a whole; all of his friends in the movement were faced with the same choice between a descriptive and a visual realism, and all of them compromised to varying extents, as he did.

The work done on these men is a small fraction of the discoveries made by others in recent years and an almost invisible portion of the work that remains to be done. The three artists which follow are only a few of the many unknown men to whom we have clues in one form or another which seem to warrant further exploration. In some cases this may be already under way. In some, too, the results may not be worth the effort, for it often occurs that one painting by an artist may suggest qualities which are more in the eye of the beholder than in the painter's intention—qualities which

may turn out to be patently lacking in his work as a whole.

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For example, there is *The Circus is Coming* (fig. 2) the single picture known by the otherwise obscure artist Charles Caleb Ward. Dated 1871, it is evasively tantalizing to modern eyes in that it suggests a sensitive feeling for a spare rectangular sort of design wedded to an Eakins-like intensity of observation. Yet when the picture was exhibited at the Ehrich-Newhouse Gallery about ten years ago, Homer Eaton Keyes wrote of it in *Antiques* (June, 1935): "A simple bit of story-telling by an artist of no great moment. Today perhaps as appealing for its exact transcript of Barnum's . . . posters as for its apt characterization of three human posteriors." Which judgement is right? It will take some basic research to find out, for Ward is not listed in any of the standard sources on American art. E. P. Richardson, who illustrated the picture in his *Romantic Painting in America* discovered only that Ward exhibited at the National Academy from 1868 to 1890. Otherwise, we know nothing of him or his work.

Fitz Hugh Lane, whose immaculately painted seascapes make him a marine counterpart of Heade, is today a better known painter than Ward, but we are only beginning to comprehend the extent of his talent. A few years ago he was chiefly known as a Boston lithographer who worked for W. S. Pen-

dleton and for his own firm of Lane and Scott. Now, although published material on Lane is virtually non-existent, Charles D. Childs, the Boston art dealer, has unearthed enough biographical information to make it possible to see at least the outline of the artist's career. We know, for instance, that he was a cripple who painted many of his pictures from ships off-shore or from the windows of his studio in the so-called "Stone House" at Gloucester which he himself built in 1850. We know also that he was born in Gloucester in 1804, lived most of his life there and died there in 1865. The subjects of his paintings show that he must also have travelled widely, for there are scenes from New York Harbor and one view of the city of Havana. The quality of his work at its best is well demonstrated by the painting, Southwest Harbor, Maine (fig. 3), done on a trip north about 1852. Many additional canvases by Lane have come to light in recent years. The bulk of these, as well as many of his drawings, are still owned in Gloucester, but a number of the finest are now in the collection which Maxim Karolik has given to the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston. When this is catalogued and exhibited we shall have a better opportunity to gauge the artist's stature within the expanding ranks of our native realist movement,

A slightly different problem is raised by an artist like Charles Deas, who enjoyed more of a reputation during his own lifetime than either Ward or Lane. Tuckerman, whose Book of the Artists was published in 1867, devotes several paragraphs to Deas, recounting that he was born in Philadelphia in 1818, lived for a time on the Hudson River, moved to the Middle West in 1840 where he painted many serious and comic Indian scenes and finally settled in St. Louis. Toward the end of his life he became mentally deranged and Tuckerman reports that he painted then several "wild pictures" such as one "representing a black sea, over which a figure hung, suspended by a ring, while from the waves a monster was springing." It was so horrible, says Tuckerman, that "a sensitive artist fainted at the sight."

Contemporary accounts in Godey's Lady's Book (December, 1846) and in Charles Lanman's A Summer in the Wilderness of 1847, which were recently uncovered by Robert McIntyre, add much new information on the first half of the painter's life. They infer that he was largely self-taught and that as a boy he spent much of his time in Sully's painting room and at the Pennsylvania Academy. His move to the Hudson was dictated by a desire to enter the military academy at West Point, but when he failed to obtain his appointment as a cadet he turned to painting professionally and studied for a year or two at the National Academy in New York. The Turkey Shoot, Hu-



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FIGURE 1. John Quidor, Wolfert's Will (detail), 1856, in the Collection of the Brooklyn Museum.

Note: Photographs for figs. 2 and 3 are courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Others are courtesy of the owners.



FIGURE 2. Charles Caleb Ward, The Circus is Coming, 1871, in the Collection of Mrs. Bates Block.

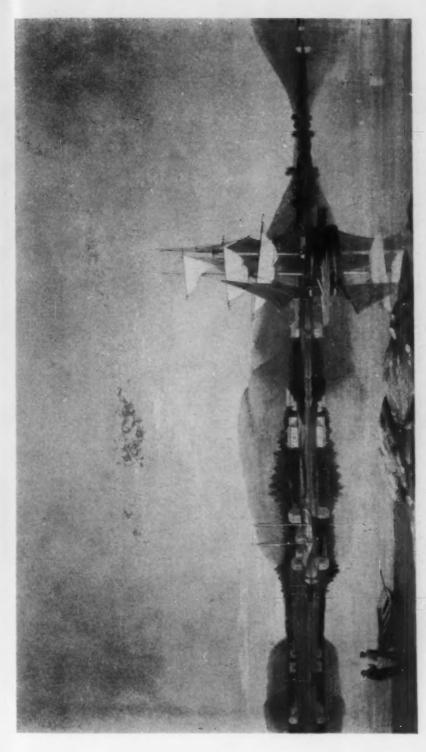


FIGURE 3. Fitz Hugh Lane, Southwest Harbor, Maine, 1852, in the Collection of Pietrepont E. Johnson.



FIGURE 4. Charles Deas, Prairie Fire, 1847, in the Collection of M. Knoedler

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dibras Engaging the Bear-Baiters, Walking the Chalk, Shoeing a Horse by Lamplight are some of the pictures done at this time.

Deas' trip West in 1840 was apparently inspired by his admiration for George Catlin's Indian pictures. Since he had a brother in the Fifth Infantry at Fort Crawford, he went first to him, travelling by the lake route to Mackinaw, then by way of Green Bay, Fort Winnebago and Fox Lake to his destination. Here there was a large encampment of Indians, whom Deas started immediately to sketch. He gathered more material on expeditions to the wilder country around Fort Atkinson and Painted Rock and on another trip into the interior of Iowa on which he penetrated as far as the east branch of the Des Moines River. In the winter of 1840-41 he revisited Fort Winnebago, and the following summer he made a tour of Fort Snelling and the upper Mississippi. At an unspecified later date he accompanied an expedition under Major Wharton which went from Fort Leavenworth to the Pawnee villages on the Platte River. His headquarters were in St. Louis where many of his Indian paintings will doubtless be found when a systematic search is made. Some of the titles of his work in these years were Indian Jake, painted from a typical mountain hunter, Indian Guide, a portrait of the old Shawnee who had accompanied Major Wharton, The Wounded Pawnee, The Voyageur, The Trapper and A Group of Sioux and Hunters on the Prairie. Several of these paintings are described at length and a number of other titles are listed. The evidence seems clear that Deas was prolific and that his work enjoyed a considerable popularity at the time.

Deas died in 1867. Today he is known almost exclusively by a single picture, The Turkey Shoot (Rutherford-Stuyvesant Collection) of 1836, which allies him to that persistent if minor current of caricature and rather crude comedy which runs through American art in the work of such painters as Blythe, Broweer, David Claypole Johnston and others. Painted before he went West, it scarcely prepares one for the powerfully romantic Voyageurs of 1846 (now in the Karolik Collection), or the dramatic Prairie Fire (fig. 4), two lesser known paintings which have recently come to light. Except for a small picture owned by Hermann W. Williams, no further works by Deas have been identified. All trace has apparently disappeared of the "wild" pictures which Tuckerman ascribes to the period of his insanity. Here is surely another man whose varied abilities would repay investigation.

These are only three of the obscure 19th century artists who still need to be sought out. The list of virtually unknown painters could be expanded to include many names such as those of Henry Alexander, Henry Ary, Jeremiah Hardy, George Harvey, David Johnson, Thomas Le Clear, Charles Christian Nahl, Francis A. Silva, Jerome Thompson and William John Wilgus, to list only a few. Equally necessary is a more thorough documentation of better known men such as Bierstadt, Blakelock, Blythe, Seth Eastman, Kensett, Ryder, Robert Salmon, Twachtman and a host of others.

This process of rediscovery and reconstruction is more important than the sum of its parts, for the work of every creative artist has a two-fold significance: it is the revelation of an individual and it is a part of the cultural atmosphere in which other painters worked. To uncover Eastman Johnson's experiments with light and atmosphere, for example, is to understand better Homer's similar development at the same time. Every movement is the work not of one man but of many, and to comprehend our major artists we must know the minor figures who worked beside them. This is the justification, if one is needed, for the painstaking research which sometimes seems to squander an unwarranted measure of time and effort on art of less than heroic dimensions. But it is through the by-ways of our art as much as through the well-trodden paths that we are gradually reaching a fuller understanding of the complexity and richness of our native schools.

The Brooklyn Museum



MATISSE, woodcut, 1944.

THE ARCHITECT VANBRUGH AND THE WITS

By Richard C. Boys

BOSWELL'S reminder in the Life of Johnson that Sir John Vanbrugh's reputation as an architect had been assailed by the Wits, provoking Sir Joshua Reynolds's defense half a century later, comes as something of a surprise to most readers, for Vanbrugh was one of the leaders of this group. His plays are still considered among the best of the Restoration comedies, those sophisticated productions that delighted the Court and shocked the Puritans. Vanbrugh was also one of the Kit-Cats, and under the genial direction of Jacob Tonson disported himself with such figures as Congreve, Prior, Steele, Dorset, and Montague, with whom, apparently, he was on the best of terms.² What, then, brought about the reversal of favor? To be sure, Vanbrugh's politics offended some (he may, for example, have received the commission to build Blenheim Castle because of his Whig leanings³), but this quality he shared with practically every other inhabitant of England. Actually, Vanbrugh's star began to sink, in the estimation of the Wits, when he exchanged the profession of dramatist for that of architect.

Vanbrugh had turned from a military life to the drama with his Relapse (1696), a cynical reply to Colley Cibber's Love's Last Shift. His reputation was assured by the success of The Provoked Wife (1697); he also received much of Jeremy Collier's vitriolic attention, a sure sign that he had arrived. The interest in architecture which he had shown for some time bore fruit when in 1701 he was given the task of building Castle Howard, and two years later he tried his hand boldly at erecting a theater in Haymarket. Vanbrugh's

tions, and Characters, of Books and Men, ed. Samuel Singer, 2nd ed., 1858, p. 35.)
Spence is quoting Pope and Tonson (1728-30).

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The Farl of Ailesbury tells of twitting M

¹ Life of Johnson, ed. G. B. Hill-L. F. Powell, IV (Oxford, 1934), pp. 54-5. ² "Garth, Vanbrugh, and Congreve were the three most honest hearted, real good men, of the poetical members of the kit-cat club" (Joseph Spence, Anecdotes, Observa-

^a The Earl of Ailesbury tells of twitting Marlborough on this subject: "I asked him who was his Architect (although I knew the man that was), he answered 'Sir Jo. Van Brugg.' On which I smiled and said, 'I suppose My Lord you made choice of him because he is a professed Whig.' I found he did not relish this, but he was too great a Courtier for to seem angry" (Memoirs of Thomas, Earl of Ailesbury, as quoted in Winston Churchill, Marlborough: His Life and Times, V (New York, 1937), p. 45.

fortunes reached their peak in his work on Blenheim (1707-15), a present from a grateful nation to the Duke of Marlborough, who was able to carry Vanbrugh to a knighthood as well as hand him the plum at Woodstock, much to the disgust of Thomas Hearne, for one (1714): "The first knight that King George made is one Vanbrugh, a silly fellow, who is the architect at Woodstock [Blenheim]."

While the Wits were willing enough to accept the dramatist Vanbrugh as equal and even friend, they shied away from him in his role as architect. In part, no doubt, this feeling grew out of a natural suspicion that most people have when a famous man enters a new field of endeavor. Those, of course, who never had liked Vanbrugh found new ammunition in this shift.

Van's Bawdy, Plotless Plays were once our Boast, But now the Poet's in the Builder lost (Faction Display'd)

is typical of the many jibes aimed at Vanbrugh. But in part, also, the Wits' animosity lay in their uncertainty—and even dislike—of the kind of building he was erecting. His return to the more dramatic standards of the Renaissance⁵ led him away from the prevailing styles of the time, and massiveness and movement replaced the more mathematical conceptions of Wren. Vanbrugh was destined to be pushed aside by the admirers of Palladio, whose works Vanbrugh had studied at one time; some of Vanbrugh's later works even show the Palladian influence. The Wits found it hard to believe that an amateur like Vanbrugh could be much good, though dabbling in various fields of endeavor was chronic in the period. One report stated a few years later that ". . . Vanbrugh wrote and built just as his fancy led him, or as those he built for and wrote for directed him. If what he did pleased them, he gained his end; if it displeased them, they might thank themselves. He pretended to no high scientific knowledge in the art of building; and he wrote without much attention to critical art."6 Whether one can believe or not that either Castle Howard or Blenheim was carelessly tossed off one afternoon over a mug of ale it should not be forgotten that many of Vanbrugh's contemporaries felt him to be lacking in professional training and

'Reliquiae Hearnianae, ed. Philip Bliss (Oxford, 1857), I, 317.

⁵ Edgar de Noailles Mayhew, "English Baroque: Sir John Vanbrugh and the Baroque Country House" (summary of John Hopkins University thesis, Baltimore, 1943),

[&]quot;Genuine Anecdotes, never before published" . . . , in Gentleman's Magazine, XXXIX (1769), p. 63.

knowledge. Perhaps Vanbrugh's critics in his own day were unconsciously aware of the far-reaching effects of the lack of restraint and disregard for the prevailing taste found in Vanbrugh's architecture, for later critics found in his buildings the seeds of what came to be called the Romantic Movement. One of Vanbrugh's first architectural ventures was his house in Whitehall (fig. 1) "a Thing resembling a Goose Py" as Swift pointed out. Shortly after the old Whitehall Palace had burned in 1697 Vanbrugh was given a site for his house, which, according to one writer, was as absurd as Swift's jeering suggests: "The nickname seems to have been extraordinarily apt, and the crenellations, the disproportionate height, and the scale of the rustications do indeed suggest what is known in the trade as a Raised Pie." Swift greeted the occasion with his devastating "History of Vanbrug's House," which goes in part:

When Mother Clud had rise e[n] from Play, And call'd to take the Cards away, Van saw, but seemd not to regard, How Miss pickt ev'ry painted Card, And busy both with Hand and Eye Soon rear'd a House two Storyes high; Van's Genius without Thought or Lecture Is hugely turn d to Architecture, He saw the Ediface and smil'd, Vow'd it was pretty for a Child; It was so perfect in its kind, He kept the Model in his Mind. But when he found the Boys at play, And saw them dabling in their Clay, He stood behind a Stall to lurk, And mark the Progress of their Work, With true Delight observed them all Raking up Mud to build a Wall; The Plan he much admir'd, and took The Model in his Table-book; Thought himself now exactly skill'd, And so resolv'd a House to build; A reall House with Rooms and Stairs, Five times at least as big as theirs, Taller than Misse's by two yards, Not a sham Thing of Clay or Cards, And so he did; for in a while He built up such a monstrous Pile, That no two Chairmen could be found Able to lift it from the Ground;

Geoffrey Webb, Complete Works of Sir John Vanbrugh (London, 1928), IV, xii.

Still at Whitehall it stands in view, Just in the Place where first it grew, There all the little School-boys run Envying to see themselves outdone.

He later added:

V—(for 'tis fit the Reader know it) Is both a Herald and a Poet,
No wonder then, if nicely skill'd
In both Capacities, to Build.
As Herald, he can in a Day
Repair a Honse gone to Decay

Or by Aschivement, Arms, Device, Erect a new one in a trice.
And as a Poet, he has Skill To build in Speculation still.
Great Jove, he cry'd, the Art restore To build by Verse as heretofore, And make my Muse the Architect; What Palaces shall we erect!
No longer shall forsaken Thames Lament his old Whitehall in Flames, A Pile shall from its Ashes rise Fit to Invade or prop the Skies . . .

NOW Poets from all Quarters ran To see the House of Brother V—:
Lookt high and low, walkt often round, But no such House was to be found; One asks the Watermen hard by, Where may the Poets Palace ly?
Another, of the Thames enquires, If he has seen its gilded Spires.
At length they in the Rubbish spy
A Thing resembling a Goose Py, Farther in haste the Poets throng, And gaze in silent Wonder long, Till one in Raptures thus began
To praise the Pile, and Builder V—.

Apparently these poems had the desired effect, especially a few years later when the gigantic construction of Blenheim was beginning to be a headache, for Vanbrugh was offended. At first Swift took delight in tormenting the architect: "Vanbrugh, I believe I told you, had a long quarrel with me about those verses on his house; but we were very civil and cold. Lady Marlborough

Poems, ed. Williams, I, 107-9.

^a 1706; Poems of Jonathan Swift, ed. Harold Williams (Oxford, 1937), I, 86-7.

used to tease him with them, which had made him angry, though he be a good-natured fellow." Vanbrugh may have been on Swift's blacklist because of his politics; one writer even says he was jealous of Vanbrugh's success as "a successful humorist." But whatever the cause, Swift's animosity seems not to have been deep, for soon he was joining with Pope in apologizing to the "good-natured fellow": "In regard to two Persons only, we wish our Raillery, though ever so tender, or resentment though ever so just, had not been indulged. We speak of Sir John Vanbrugh, who was a Man of Wit, and of Honour, and of Mr. Addison, whose Name deserves all Respect from every Lover of Learning." One writer makes Pope the hero of this reversal of feeling and gives him the credit for bringing an unreasonable Swift around:

Swift had taken a dislike (without knowing him) to Vanbrugh, and satirized him severely in two or three poems, which displeased Mr. Pope; and he remonstrated with his friend on this occasion. Swift said, he thought Vanbrugh a coxcomb and a puppy: the other replied, you have not the least acquaintance with or personal knowledge of him:—Vanbrugh is the reverse of all this, and the most easy careless writer and companion in the world. This as he assured an intimate friend, was true.¹⁸

This statement of repentance is corroborated by the inclusion of Vanbrugh's name on the list of distinguished persons Swift had known (dated 1728-9), "Men famous for their learning, wit, or great employments or quality, who are dead."¹⁴

Although John Dyer could write glowingly of Blenheim Castle's "stately rooms" in the Fleece, 15 that building was responsible for much of the criticism aimed at Vanbrugh. Possibly because of his work on Castle Howard or for political reasons, Vanbrugh's appointment as the architect of Blenheim created quite a stir:

From such deep Rudiments as these Van is become by due Degrees For Building fam'd, and justly reckond At Court, Vitruvius the second,

³⁰ Journal to Stella, Oct. 31, 1710, in the Works of Jonathan Swift, ed. Scott (2nd ed., 1883), II, 69.

¹¹ Encyclopedia Britannica, 8th ed. (Edinburgh, 1860), XXI, 518.

¹² Preface to the Miscellanies, I, 1727, as quoted in George Sherburn, The Early Career of Alexander Pope (Oxford, 1934), p. 143, n. 4.

[&]quot;Genuine Anecdotes, never before publish'd," in Gentleman's Magazine, XXXIX (1769), p. 63. That this story is open to suspicion, however, can be seen from the passage from the Journal to Stella, cited above (f.n. 10), where it is clear that Swift not only knew Vanbrugh but called him a "good-natured fellow."

¹⁴ Scott, Swift, p. 359.

¹⁸ Works of the British Poets, ed. R. Anderson (1795), IX, 573.

No wonder, since wise Authors shew, That best Foundations must be low. And now the Duke has wisely ta'ne him To be his Architect at Blenheim.¹⁸

The sheer bulk of Castle Howard and Blenheim (which the Earl of Ailesbury described as "one mass of stone, without taste or relish" gave rise to Abel Evans's famous epitaph for Vanbrugh:

Under this stone, reader, survey Dear Sir John Vanbrugh's house of clay. Lie heavy on him earth, for he Laid many a heavy load on thee.

The massiveness of these structures, which are so in contrast to the Palladian and Wren buildings, was certainly asking for censure, but, it has been pointed out, Vanbrugh was equally blamed for the *smallness* of his conceptions. Thomas Hearne's remarks are typical of many:

It is grand, but a sad, irregular, confused piece of work. The architect (if a blockhead may deserve that name) was Vanbrug. . . The house, in which we have nothing convenient, most of the rooms being small, pitifull, dark things, as if designed for panders, w—s, cl—e—st—s, p—p—ts, and other things of that nature. By this work we sufficiently see the genius of Vanbrugg.³⁶

One would hardly expect coziness to be an attribute of a monumental building like Blenheim, but Vanbrugh's enemies immediately assailed him for his failure to make the structure livable:

Upon the Duke of MARLBOROUGH'S House at Woodstock.

See, Sir, see here's the grand Approach, This Way is for his Grace's Coach; There lies the Bridge, and here's the Clock, Observe the Lyon and the Cock, The spacious Court, the Colonade, And mark how wide the Hall is made? The Chimneys are so well design'd, They never smoke in any Wind. This Gallery's contriv'd for walking, The Windows to retire and talk in; The Council-Chamber for Debate, And all the rest are Rooms of State.

Thanks, Sir, cry'd I, 'tis very fine. But where d'ye sleep, or where d'ye dine?

^{28 &}quot;The History of Vanbrug's House," in Poems, ed. Williams, I, 87.

³⁷ Memoirs, II, 587, as quoted in W. Churchill, Marlborough, V, 45.
³⁸ May 29, 1717. Reliquiae Hearnianae, ed. Philip Bliss, I, 374-5.

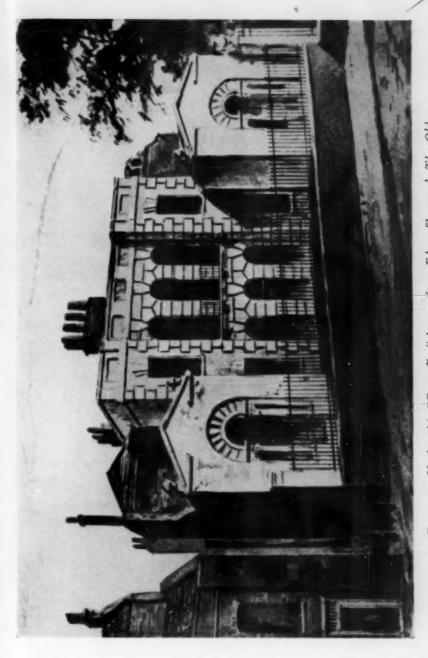


FIGURE 1. Vanbrugh's "Goose-Pye" house, from Edgar Sheppard, The Old Palace of Whiteball (London, 1902), opp. p. 100.

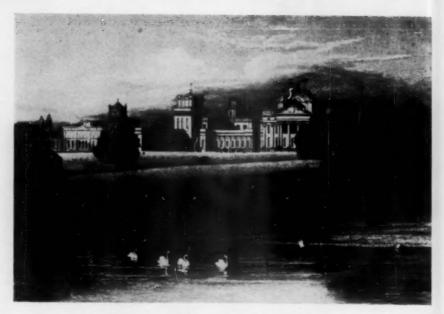


FIGURE 2. Blenheim from Richmond Hill.



FIGURE 3. Blenheim, South East View. From Jones' Views of the Seats, Mansions, Castles, etc., of Noblemen and Gentlemen in England (London, c. 1850).

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I find by all you mad been telting, That 'tis a House, but not a Dwelling."

Pope, too, found it unfriendly and generally absurd:

I will not describe Blenheim in particular, not to forestal your expectations before you see it: only take a short account, which I will hazard my little credit, it is no unjust one. I never saw so great a thing with so much littleness in it. I think the architect built it entirely in complaisance to the taste of its owners; for it is the most inhospitable thing imaginable, and the most selfish. . . . When you look upon the outside, you would think it large enough for a prince; when you see the inside, it is too little for a subject, and has not conveniency to lodge a common family. It is a house of entries and passages; among which there are three vistas through the whole, very uselessly handsome. There is what might have been a fine gallery, but spoiled by two arches towards the end of it, which take away the sight of several of the windows. . . . At the top of the building are several cupolas and little turrets, that have but an ill effect, and make the building look at once finical and heavy. . . . The two sides of the building are entirely spoiled by two monstrous bow windows, which stand just in the middle, instead of doors: and, as if it were fatal, that some trifling littleness should everywhere destroy the grandeur, there are in the chief front two semicircles of a lower structure than the rest, that cut off the angles, and look as if they were purposely designed to hide a loftier and nobler piece of building, the top of which appears above them. In a word, the whole is a most expensive absurdity; and the Duke of Shrewsbury gave a true character of it, when he said it was a great quarry of stones above ground."

To the unpopularity of Vanbrugh's domestic architecture, described above, should be added the fact that the building of Blenheim was accompanied by years of bickering and litigation, an unsavory state of affairs made much of by Vanbrugh's enemies.

One other aspect of Vanbrugh's career which amused the Wits greatly was his attempt to build and manage a new theater in Haymarket. In April, 1705, the venture was launched with an Italian opera, which was a failure; the opening of the new house was duly heralded by Defoe in his *Review* (May 3). Vanbrugh, who had imported singers from Italy for the occasion, was finally forced to admit defeat, especially after his partner, Congreve,

**Elzevir Miscellany (2nd ed., 1715),p. 33. These lines have been attributed to William King, Swift, Pope, and Abel Evans (Poems of Jonathan Swift, ed. Williams, III, 1150).

^{**}Pope to ***, n.d., in The Works of Alexander Pope, ed. Elwin-Courthope, X (1886), 264-5. Shrewsbury's description was utilized again by Pope in Epistle 4 of the Moral Essays, in speaking of Timon's want of taste in architecture; the "great quarry of stones above ground" has become "a laboured quarry above ground" (Works, Elwin-Courthope, III, 180). In the Pope letter quoted above it should be pointed out that it is apparent from the opening remarks that much of the ill will is directed not at Vanbrugh but at Marlborough. Here again the political overtones of the quarrel are evident.

withdrew. It is now generally agreed that the Queen's Theater was a sad testimonial to Vanbrugh's inexperience as an architect. Even for the Italian opera, in which acting is not of primary importance, the new theater would not do, for the acoustics were atrocious. And, to make matters worse Van-Brugh planned to use the Queen's for his own and other plays, a scheme doomed to failure for "every proper convenience of a good theatre had been sacrificed to shew the audience a vast triumphal piece of architecture, in which plays, by means of the spaciousness of the dome, could not be successfully represented, because the actors could not be distinctly heard."21 Certainly the comedies of manners for which Vanbrugh was known, with their great emphasis on witty, and often rapid-fire dialogue, would have little chance in a theatre in which lines had to be shouted; it would be like putting on a production of Noel Coward's Private Lives in Madison Square Garden. That Vanbrugh had botched the job would be enough for the Wits, who missed no opportunities to get their knives into this dramatist-turned-architect, and in joining the heated and ever-growing fight over the establishment of Italian opera he undoubtedly offended still more people.

The reputation of Vanbrugh the dramatist has fared well over the years, both in his own day and later, but the architect Vanbrugh has not been so fortunate. In spite of such polite statements as Garth's that "... Nature borrows dress from Vanbrugh's art...",22 not many kind words about Vanbrugh's architecture got into print in his own time. But that he had his following—and an important one—is most readily seen in the many commissions he received and the buildings he erected. At any rate, Reynolds, Robert Adam, Uvedale Price and others were sufficiently struck by his importance and concerned by what they considered to be his unfair treatment at the hands of the Wits to wage a campaign in an attempt to elevate Vanbrugh to his rightful place among the great architects of England.

University of Michigan

²¹ T. Cibber and R. Shiels, Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland (1753), IV, 107.

[&]quot;'Claremont," in the Works of the English Poets (Johnson's), XX (1779), p. 95.

ART STUDIES DURING THE WAR'

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By Wolfgang Stechow

PROGRESS in the humanities during a regress of humanity was not peculiar to the recent war; the phenomenon is as old as the humanities themselves. Historians have often wondered at the continuance of creative art in practically every war; and in the newer field of the history, theory and philosophy of art, progress in war-time has likewise been considerable. In our time, however, such progress has been seriously hampered. Today, all scholarly disciplines are in need of communication, and communication is one thing that wars are certain to disrupt. Isolation, on the other hand, can have some advantage if the development of a discipline has reached a stage where stock-taking can have salutary effects; but it is too early to know whether the study and teaching of the fine arts in the United States were in a state to profit in that way under the restrictions imposed upon them from 1939 to 1945.

It is doubtful (statistics are not yet available) whether the exigencies of war caused any large-scale disturbances in the normal activities of teaching in the history and theory of art. Undergraduate and even graduate enrollments seem to have remained rather steady, although the proportion of women students increased. As to changes in curricula, two main tendencies deserve special attention. The first is epitomized in the title of an article by Alfred H. Barr, Jr., which appeared in the first issue of the C.A.J. (I, 1): "Modern Art Makes History, Too." Mr. Barr's belief that modern art deserves a much more important place in art history classes has been alternately challenged and supported; but there is little doubt that it is favored by a strong majority of teachers. A secondary tendency is the increased emphasis upon American art

¹ The following report was written in spring 1946 in response to an invitation to contribute the chapter on the fine arts in a book which was considered for publication by the American Council of Learned Societies and which aimed at summarizing the progress of the humanities in the United States during the war years. It was thus originally addressed to the general reader, not to those primarily interested in the fine arts. It should also be noted that it is restricted to the progress in the history and theory of art and that it covers the period from the outbreak of the war in Europe to the actual end of hostilities only. It is here printed in its original form save for minor details and for the shortening of some quotations (mostly from C.A.J.) and of the passage on war damages and recoveries which have been amply reported in former issues of the JOURNAL.

in college and university curricula. It, too, has been ably summarized by Mr. Barr (C.A.J. IV, 1). It is noteworthy that this trend had shown remarkable progress prior to the War; Robert J. Goldwater has pointed out ("The Teaching of Art in the Colleges of the United States," C.A.J. II, Suppl., p. 31) that courses in American art history in fifty representative colleges increased from 9 to 23 between 1933 and 1937, and to 40 in 1940. On the other hand, it is quite natural that wartime lack of traveling facilities and preoccupation with things American should likewise have led to greater emphasis upon American art. Concerning the teaching of the theory and philosophy of art, significant changes may possibly be expected in the future on the basis of recent suggestions which will be touched upon below.

Teaching-staff problems developed during the war in this as in every other discipline, but the situation showed special features which were occasioned by the nature of the pre-war growth of the teaching of art history in particular. The rapid development of art instruction in colleges and universities, as sponsored by a far-sighted group of American scholars and teachers of the last and present generations, had favored the influx of a remarkably large number of European scholars and teachers into American institutions at a time when the demand for teachers in that field far exceeded the native supply. This situation, still prevalent though about to change with the rise of a new generation of native teachers at the outbreak of the war, did not alter during the war years, when many of those younger American teachers were called into the armed forces, with the result that more Europeans who had found, or were finding, a refuge in this country were brought into college and university faculties. It stands to reason that the end of the war can be expected to have put an end to this development. As a new generation of American-born teachers takes over, many of whom have brought home vivid impressions of art abroad while others will avail themselves of re-opened travel facilities to Europe, a healthy equilibrium in the teaching of European and American art ought to be assured.

While transportation difficulties made necessary the cancellation of a number of meetings of art teachers' organizations, particularly towards the end of the conflict, some opportunities were left to such groups to embark upon regional and national activities of importance. Suffice it to point to conferences of the College Art Association and of regional groups with similar interests, all reported in the JOURNAL. There was even room for the formation of new societies, among which the American Society for Aesthetics deserves special emphasis. Owing its foundation, in 1942, to the initiative of Thomas Munro of the Cleveland Museum of Art, it has now attained a membership

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of approximately 400, has held three annual meetings, has sponsored many regional groups from East to West, and has recently (1945) taken over the management of the *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*. Patterned, to a degree, upon the "Gesellschaft für Aesthetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft," the American Society for Aesthetics promotes "the advancement of philosophical and scientific studies of the arts and related fields." Joint meetings with other societies are sponsored; the rôle of aesthetics in providing a common denominator for philosophy, theory, and history of all arts is stressed; increased opportunities for teaching the essentials of such interrelationships in colleges and universities are promoted.

Research in art history appears to have suffered less from the closing of international lanes of communication than might have been expected, even so far as European artists and monuments are concerned. There have been limitations in the quantity and quality of paper and delays in publication of books and periodicals; but the scholarly output has been considerable, though assuredly subject to various corrections and additions on the basis of the renewed study of the monuments and of recent foreign publications which had been inaccessible. It remains a most remarkable phenomenon that in the midst of the war, there should have been published in this country fundamental monographs on Hagia Sophia (Emerson Swift, 1940), the cathedrals of St. Denis (Sumner Crosby, 1942) and Noyon (Charles Seymour, 1939), and the "Creation of the Rococo" (Fiske Kimball, 1943); on the Sarcophagi of Ravenna (Marion Lawrence, 1945); on Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint (Ernest De Wald, 2 parts of vol. III, 1941-42), The Aragonese School in the Late Middle Ages (vol. VIII of Chandler Post's History of Spanish Painting, 1941), Francesco di Giorgio (Allen Weller, 1943), Michelangelo (Charles de Tolnay, first two volumes, 1943-45), Venetian Drawings (Hans and Erica Tietze, 1944), Raphael's Drawings (Ulrich Middeldorf, 1945), and, last but not least, the definitive standard work on Albrecht Dürer (Erwin Panofsky, 1943, second ed., 1945). And it is certainly not less remarkable that the first printings of some of these volumes should have been exhausted a few months after their publication.

The array of monographs on European artists and monuments is matched by the appearance of such important works of a more comprehensive character as Professor Morey's volumes on Early Christian Art (1942) and Medieval Art (1942), the Medieval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter (1939), Panofsky's Studies in Iconology (1939), William Ivins' How Prints Look (1943), George Kernodle's From Art to Theatre (1944), and Sigfried Giedion's Space, Time and Architecture (1941).

Research on European subjects has also flourished in such well-established periodicals as The Art Bulletin, Art in America, and The Art Quarterly (founded in 1938), in that distinguished war-time guest, the Gazette des Beaux-Arts, and in a number of museum bulletins, among which there are found several newcomers (Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum in its new and highly attractive form; Bulletin of the Allen Art Museum of Oberlin College). Other gains of considerable interest are the Marsyas (since 1941), an annual entirely devoted to articles by students of the Institute of Fine Arts at New York University, the Journal of the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (since 1938), whose importance reaches far beyond the customary limitations of a museum's accession record or preliminary publication, and the Pacific Art Review (1941-44, suspended in 1945, resumed 1946). Parnassus has been superseded by the COLLEGE ART JOURNAL (since 1941). Among the war-time losses we list with regret the Print Collector's Quarterly and Technical Studies. Notable scholarly contributions are likewise found in catalogues of outstanding exhibitions of European masterpieces such as the Medieval Exhibit in Boston (1940), Italian Drawings at Smith College (1941), the New York World's Fairs of 1939 and 1940, the First Century of Printmaking (1941) and the Medals and Plaquettes from the Morgenroth Collection (1944) in Chicago, Early Dutch Painting in Detroit (1944), the Russian Icons from the George R. Hann Collection in Pittsburgh (1944), and many others. The same applies to a few museum publications, among which the edition of the drawings in the Fogg Museum of Art in Cambridge by Agnes Mongan and Paul Sachs (1940) deserves special attention.

Among the new centers of research which supplement the continued activities of such well-established ones as the Princeton Index of Christian Art and the Frick Reference Library in New York, Harvard's Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection in Washington, D.C., is of outstanding importance. Its founders, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Woods Bliss, desirous "that the continuity of scholarship in the Byzantine and medieval humanities may remain unbroken to clarify an ever-changing present and to inform the future with wisdom," conveyed this estate to Harvard University in 1940. A number of Junior Fellows, selected from among the most promising students on the post-graduate level and advised by research fellows in residence, engage in both individual and cooperative research. After the task of cataloguing the pertinent material in the United States had been accomplished and the study of publications in Russian commenced "in order that the results of Russian archaeology may be accessible to scholars," far-reaching plans were laid, primarily with the view of attaining a thorough knowledge of the period of

Justinian (see Wilhelm Koehler in Bulletin of the Fogg Museum of Art, IX, March 1941, and in COLLEGE ART JOURNAL, I, 1942, p. 34). Three volumes of Dumbarton Oaks Papers have so far been published.

In the field of research on American art, production and organization are engaged in a sprightly contest. Among the published works are some fundamental books on outstanding artists and monuments of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Henry R. Hitchcock, Rhode Island Architecture, 1939; Fiske Kimball, Samuel McIntire, 1940; Talbot Hamlin, Greek Revival Architecture in America, 1944; Lloyd Goodrich, Winslow Homer, 1944) and such widely discussed attempts at a characterization of broader movements as Oskar Hagen's The Birth of the American Tradition in Art (1940) and Edgar Richardson's American Romantic Painting (1944). The American Art Research Council, initiated by the Whitney Museum of American Art in 1942, is a pivotal organization which has enlisted the enthusiastic support of museums and colleges (see Alfred H. Barr, Jr., C.A.J. IV, 1). Recent issues of the JOURNAL and an entire number of Art in America (October, 1945) contain a large amount of related information on work planned, in progress, or completed. A considerable number of exhibitions have shed much light on groups and single artists. Mention should also be made of the increased scholarly interest in the artistic heritage of the Latin-American countries, whose own production in this field is rapidly growing.

As for research in the philosophy and theory of art, the activities of the American Society for Aesthetics and its official organ, the Journal of Aesthetics, ought to be emphasized once more. The historical aspects of this field have been furthered by such important contributions as Rensselaer Lee's "Ut pictura poesis" (The Art Bulletin, XXII, 1940), but are on the whole somewhat slighted in comparison with the theoretical ones. Among the books of the latter type, Theodore M. Greene's The Arts and the Art of Criticism (1940), Lionello Venturi's Art Criticism Now (1941), and the symposium on The Future of Aesthetics, edited by Thomas Munro (1942), have attracted particularly wide attention.

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This is not the place to deal with the amazing record of the American museums in war-time, except for a brief reference to what their growth contributed to teaching and research. American museums have always been citadels of teaching, far more so than most of their European sister institutions. This tendency was apt to be strengthened during a war which laid new emphasis on democratic rights and ideals. There has been intensified collaboration with schools through special classes, lectures, exhibits. The desire for greater accessibility of those treasures to all produced an increased demand for 296

teaching and administrative personnel which was rarely met, though several institutions arranged for special museum training courses. It has already been stated that museums have greatly furthered research by exhibitions and in some cases by publications on their permanent collections. On the other hand, the impact of the wealth of recent acquisitions upon war-depleted staffs was often so great that normal research was much curtailed; this resulted in a deplorable dearth of scholarly museum catalogues which is widely felt to be a serious lack by students of the history of art. The emergence of the National Gallery in Washington as one of the leading museums of the world was, to a considerable degree, a war-time development. True, the Mellon Collection was given to the Nation as early as 1937; but it was not until 1939 that the first gift of Samuel H. Kress was added. Then came the donations of the incomparable Widener Collection (1942), of the Lessing J. Rosenwald Prints (1943), and of further Kress Collections. Among the museums which have been most conspicuously enlarged between 1939 and 1945, one might single out the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Blumenthal, Bache, Griggs Collections), the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, the Fogg Museum of Art in Cambridge (Winthrop Collection), the Museum of Art in Cleveland, the Allen Memorial Art Museum of Oberlin College, the Institute of Arts in Detroit, the John Herron Art Institute in Indianapolis, the Art Institute in Chicago (particularly its medieval Buckingham Collection), the Joslyn Memorial in Omaha, and several museums in California.

Special activities of art historians have played an important part in the history of recent wars. It could not but be a fine part, for it has been their function to save as much as possible from waste and destruction. The task of protection was logically twofold: protection of art in the United States and in war areas. Regarding the former, the activities consisted largely in protective measures, mainly the temporary sheltering of great works of art in safe and secluded places, with comparatively little inconvenience to the public and to scholars. The other phase of the task was by far the more dramatic, exciting and difficult one, climaxing as it did in the rescue of a large number of works of art of the highest quality. The state of affairs in 1943-44 has been ably summarized by Sumner Crosby in the C.A.J. (III, 3). What the officers of that second group were confronted with when the collapse came first of Italy then of Germany, is fresh in everybody's mind. The most fascinating report on this last phase was given by Mr. John Walker of the National Gallery in Washington in the January, 1946, issue of The National Geographic Magazine. The task had by then changed from protection of art objects against war hazards to recovery of looted art, together with continued care for legallyowned German art treasures. At the end of that article, the author strikes an optimistic note as to how long it will take to repatriate all these treasures; and at the time of this writing, such optimism seems to have been well justified: already we are receiving catalogues of exhibitions held in Western Europe and elsewhere in which large numbers of recovered art works are being publicly displayed. Owners of art treasures in Europe, public as well as private, allied as well as enemy, have been assured—and can rest assured—that art historians in this country are well-informed about questions of legality, authenticity and preservation, and that they will do their very best toward the speedy re-opening of international communications between museums and collectors. They propose to act in the same spirit of good will and fair play with regard to international collaboration between teachers and scholars everywhere.

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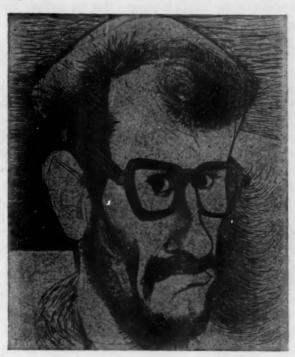
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MAURICIO LASANSKY (Iowa), Self portrait, Etching, 1946.

A NEW INSTITUTE FOR ART HISTORY IN MUNICH

By Craig Hugh Smyth

THE establishment of an institute for art history in Munich has recently been authorized by the United States Military Government and announced by the Bavarian Ministry of Education. Named the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, this new organization promises to provide an opportunity for German scholars of good repute to take up their studies again. The institute will house most of the available facilities for research to be had in the Munich area, including the majority of the books on art which have survived from the libraries of the city. It is planned that the institute shall serve, not only as a place for scholars to continue their work, but as a kind of graduate school as well, for students who have finished their university training. It will be located in the Central Art Collecting Point in Munich, where a great part of the works of art in this region are stored.

The proposal to establish the institute has had the support of the office of Military Government and especially of the chief of the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Section in Bavaria, Mr. Edwin C. Rae. Mr. Rae, before the war on the faculty of the University of Illinois, has helped to shape the plan and has made its successful development possible by his supervision and backing, as has also a more recently added American member of his office, Mr. Edgar Breitenbach. The German Bavarian Government supports the project and is financing it. The official directive for the establishment of the institute was issued last November by the Bavarian Minister of Education and Culture, to whom the director of the institute is to be responsible. The scholar chosen to head the institute is Dr. L. H. Heydenreich, formerly on the faculty of the University of Berlin and director of the German Institute for the History of Art in Florence after the death of the previous director, Dr. F. Kriegbaum, during the war. Dr. Heydenreich is moving from Italy, where he has been living since the war's end.

The idea of founding such an institution came into being during the course of operations at the Munich Central Collecting Point. This was one of several large storage points established in the United States Zone by the Monuments Section and served as the collecting center not only for looted art unearthed in Southern Germany and Austria, but also for the principal Munich

collections, which have gradually been taken in from outlying depots since the surrender. Most of Munich's museums were badly damaged; both the Old and New Pinakothek were destroyed. Consequently, the Collecting Point, occupying the former Nazi administration buildings on the Königsplatz, will be used as a more or less permanent storage house for much of Munich's art, and it has been fitted out with this end in view. To help with the long work of identification and restitution of loot, a large German staff of acceptable specialists from German museums and universities was assembled there during the summer and fall of 1945, and, for the same purpose, remaining portions of Munich's art libraries were installed. In succeeding months offices in one of the buildings have been assigned by the Monuments Section to the newly approved officials of the Staatsgemäldesammlungen, the Glyptothek, the Theater Museum, the Münz-Sammlung, and to the administrative staffs of other similar museums whose collections must remain there for want of space elsewhere.

With so much of the region's surviving art and literature of art, and so many of its acceptable scholars in the process of being brought together in one place, upon a kind of oasis as it were, in a waste of destruction, it was logical that there should soon have occurred the idea of founding a center of study, to be set up there after the completion of restitution. Without some such pooling of their depleted facilities, German scholars in the field of art could not hope to work again effectively.

In the beginning, the staff of the institute will be small and will be concerned at first with surveying and preparing the available materials for research and with planning for future work. It is hoped that the institute will perform the functions of a combined "Institute for Advanced Study" and graduate school and that stipends can eventually be made available for fellowships there. In addition, its program will also include, according to the institute's recent unofficial prospectus, the preparation in cooperation with the Landesämter für Denkmalpflege of a corpus of monuments destroyed in the war and the gathering of data which will be needed for reconstructions in the future. A primary function of the institute, as it is now projected, will be to offer courses to graduate students. The teaching program is to be arranged in cooperation with the museums and other institutions of learning in Munich, and it will include museum training. Among the publications which the institute expects to sponsor will be a periodical for art history, bibliographical

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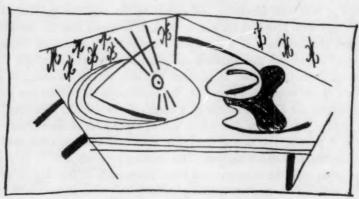
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¹ The collections of the Bavarian National Museum have not had to be housed in the Collecting Point, since much of the Museum's building is useable.

studies in art history and the care of monuments, and publications continuing the work of the former Deutsche Verein für Kunstwissenschaft.

Under the present conditions in Germany, Munich, as the most important art center of the country having its great collections still intact, appears to be the most likely place in the land for a renewal of the study of art. Since January, 1946, under the sponsorship of the Military Government, successive exhibitions of works of art from the city's collections have been on view in several galleries. Other exhibition spaces are being prepared, so that more and more objects can be brought out of storage at one time. If, as planned, its program develops in close contact with the museums and the university, and if it makes full use of the opportunity of having fine collections of art at hand for study under the same roof, the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte should be able to offer a scholarly training of depth and scope to a new generation of students, in whom discernment and sensitivity have had little encouragement for many years. The institute hopes that foreign scholars may eventually come there to study and that exchanges of foreign and German students can someday be made. Beginning now with the help of the Monuments and Fine Arts Section of the United States Military Government, the new institute has an opportunity to make a valuable contribution to the regeneration of Germany's cultural life.

The Frick Collection



Picasso, Table, Pencil, 1925.

obituaries

WILLIAM SAWITZKY (1879-1947)

The death of William Sawitzky on February 2, 1947, was a great blow to scholarship in early American art, When he entered the field shortly before the first world war, it was still a playground for dilettantism, too many of the workers being concerned with pretty theories or ancestor worship. Wolves of error stalked the woods, falling unhindered on the little settlements of amateur scholars, and slaughtering their sheep-like publications. With incisive insight, Sawitzky realized that the most valuable contribution he could make would be to get back to first sources, to documents, to the attribution of individual pictures. Too much of what he called "aesthetic twaddle" was being written, too many airy theories were being built on misattributions or downright fakes. He would look at the pictures with a cold, scientific eye, laying firm the foundations on which his successors could build.

There was heroism in this resolve. Academic institutions ignored American art even more grievously than they do today; the organized structure that supports basic scholarship was non-existent; he was forced to push ahead on his own, with little possibility of financial reward, through a most tangled wilderness of error. He may even have had to fight personal temptations too, for there was much of the artist about him; he could have written appreciation and theory, had the time been ripe. His monographs, indeed, are composed with a facility of style rarely found in such publications. His dedication overcame all obstacles; he used his aesthetic insight to solve the seemingly tiny problems which are the basis of all knowledge; with little encouragement, he struggled on for years. His great abilities, his fine seriousness, his profound integrity won out in the end. He became an inspiration to the younger scholars in the field; men who disagreed on almost everything else, could usually find common ground in their admiration of Mr. Sawitzky. And in 1940 he was appointed Advisory Curator of American Art at the New-York Historical Society under a special grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. As a lecturer at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, he gave during 1940 and 1941 two brilliant courses.

The first of these was quite a phenomenon. Graduate students found themselves a somewhat embarrassed minority, for at Sawitzsky's feet sat most of the mature scholars in the field. Curators, dealers, editors, authors of already published books and monographs took notes as if their lives depended on it. For the first time in history, a lucid and accurate description was being given of the beginnings of American art; no wonder we all leaned forward so as not to miss a word.

Already the great scholar was in bad health. Walking to the platform, he had to stop every few steps to regain his breath. Yet this stricken figure was not pitiful; from him flowed tremendous strength. The long face, with its high forehead and vigorously cut features, bore an expression both stern and affable. Here was a man not to be trifled with, not to be underestimated, to be feared a little and yet loved.

In one particular at least, Sawitzky reversed the usual practice of mankind. People are inclined to compliment colleagues to their faces and deprecate them to their backs. Sawitzky, of course, would damn a thoroughly bad piece of work at all times and anywhere, but if a publication had virtues, he was inclined to dwell on them when the author was absent. It

was to the author himself that he pointed out errors, sometimes very gently, sometimes less so. Fired with a vision of perfection, he occasionally, when he allowed his mind to run on error, attacked it with all the energy of an Old Testament prophet cursing Babylon.

Sawitzky's range of appreciation was wide. Younger workers could rely on warm words of encouragement, if they deserved them. Some evening the phone would ring, and there would be the veteran scholar, calling long distance. "I understand how much work went into the publication," he would say. And then, remembering perhaps his own struggles, he would add, "I want you to know that there is at least one person in the world who appreciates what you have done." Such praise was to be cherished, and often thought of in moments of discouragement. But there was always another, terrifying possibility. Many a young worker has in his mind's eye seen that stern face looking over his shoulder, and has hurried back to a further investigation of sources lest he be taken to the intellectual woodshed for a well-deserved whipping.

Sawitzky was a powerful personal influence on his colleagues. This must be emphasized today, for the record will die with those who knew him. Important as his publications are, they are only part of his contribution. William Sawitzky was a human embodiment of serious purpose, of accurate research, above all of uncompromising integrity.

Facts and bibliography have been given in so many obituaries that I shall only summarize them here. Born in Russia in 1879, Sawitzky became an ornithologist. In 1911, he came to America as a newspaper correspondent, but two years later an unconquerable interest in art induced him to become librarian of Knoedler & Co. Soon he was an independent scholar, picking up support where he could get it, travelling all over the Atlantic states as he examined the first monuments of American art. In 1927, he secured a charming, faithful, and intelligent collaborator through his marriage to Susan Clay, of Lexington, Kentucky. He edited, for the Frick Art Reference Library, Lawrence Park's monumental work on Gilbert Stuart, and he was always generous in giving that important institution information and advice. He catalogued the paintings in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, published a monograph on Matthew Pratt, and articles on Stuart, Ralph Earl, Benjamin West, and William Williams. At the time of his death, he had almost completed a monograph on Earl, and another on three New York artists; Lawrence Kilburn, Abraham Delanoy, Jr., and an unidentified workman. We may look forward to an increasingly rich harvest of his scholarship, since more of his researches are to be put into final form for publication by the New-York Historical Society.

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JAMES THOMAS FLEXNER
New York City



KIRCHNER, Woodcut, 1924.

letters to the editor

TOO MANY SOCIETIES?

SIR:

A few months ago I was invited to take an important office in one of the art historical associations, to renew my membership in a second and to join a third. Regretfully I refused to accept any of the invitations and my reasons for doing so are given here in the hope that you will print them in your journal to invite further suggestions on the problem raised in this communication.

I have seen the largest of the art historical associations grow big and strong in an amorphous incompleteness; I have heard of the steadily declining membership of the older organizations and of the debilitating weaknesses inherent in the younger societies. Whether there is any truth in these reports does not matter. What matters is the discouraging and bewildering existence of many separate societies, duplicating each other's efforts at bidding for the same members, the same dues, the same scholarly article-even the same time and place for meetings. The results are unhappily evident in poorly attended meetings, sectional dissentions and misunderstandings which perpetuate antiquated or thoughtless divisions in the field of

If the theory underlying the nature of some existing organizations were carried further we should have had a separate institute for the study of Renaissance art, another for the Baroque, a third for modern art, etc. Or, dividing the field according to another existing scheme, we might have a society of historians of painting, another of historians of sculpture and a third for the minor arts. Either scheme would merely accentuate the futility of the present multiple divisions.

It would be far better if all the exist-

ing organizations would unite to form one comprehensive society in which the desirable features of all the constituent groups would be incorporated. No lengthy arguments are needed to demonstrate the value of such integration. The current trend in uniting the departments of art and archeology in some colleges and universities as well as the pending reorganization of the American Academy in Rome to include art history, provide sufficient proof for the desirability of the unification of departments with similar purposes. It is practically axiomatic that there is nothing among the aims and functions of any existing organization which cannot be accomplished better through a more comprehensive and powerful society. Accordingly I wish to present a tentative plan for such reorganization and open the way to constructive suggestions.

The new society might be called American Association of Art and Archeology or American Federation of Art and Archeology. It should be open to every qualified person and institution in the world. In order to preserve some measure of autonomy in the constituent groups there should exist within the board of directors a definite number of committees which will have immediate charge of activities and publications related to their respective fields. Final decisions, however, should be vested in

the whole board.

Membership dues might range from \$1000 to \$1 to make possible a great variety of classes open to professional, semi-professional and lay members of different economic levels. Professional memberships might be graded according to academic rank and regional differences in salary scales. Full professors might pay from \$25 to \$20, associate professors, \$20-15, assistant professors, \$15-10, instructors, \$10-5, assistants and

graduate students \$5-3, and undergraduate majors in art, \$1. Lay members may be left to choose one of the professorial memberships or special memberships may be created for them with graded honorary titles to entice sums of various sizes. The admission of graduate students into membership is practiced indifferently by some existing organizations. Better results could be obtained if students were systematically encouraged to join by the central office and the teacher members with whom they are in daily contact. The extension of membership to undergraduate art majors is recommended for two reasons. First, in the hope that their contacts with the older members and the functions of the society would encourage some of them to become graduate students. Second, because those of them who do not become teachers, artists, critics or museum workers, will constitute an important part of the intelligent public to whom the art professions look for assistance. The association and the individual members should keep track of these young members. Upon their graduation from college they should be enrolled automatically in one of the local chapters of the associations.

The purpose of the local chapters is to keep alive interest in the aims of the organization throughout the year. The new society should incorporate the existing chapters of the other organizations and establish others wherever desirable. The activities of the local bodies will vary according to the finances and nature of the membership but should include lectures by visiting lecturers as well as by local professionals. At times, even serious lay members who have kept their interests in research alive, might be encouraged to present a paper in fields not treated by the professional group, But the most important means by which important specialized research or imaginative syntheses might be brought to the local chapters would be an endowed lecture fund similar to the Norton Lectureship. If properly regulated all important fields of art may be periodically and systematically represented.

In financing the activities of the local chapters the practice of some of the existing organizations might be carefully studied. One of these permits the local society to use a percentage of its membership dues. Another accepts voluntary contributions or levies separate fees for defraying the cost of refreshments. A third gets its lecturers free but levies a fifty cents charge upon those who partake of refreshments.

The publications of the new organization may consist of two journals. One for scholarly articles, published quarterly or bi-monthly and edited jointly by a group of associate editors, each responsible for his own field but working in close association with an editor-in-chief. The name of this journal might be emblematic of the union of the major fields or of the present organs. It might be called Journal of Art and Archeology or Bulletin of Art and Archeology. The other periodical suitable for the more popular articles, news, methods of teaching, etc. might be published monthly and called American Magazine of Art, Art Journal, Art Bulletin, Art Notes, Art Post, or some similar name.

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In appreciation of the sentiments attached to the names of the existing organizations and their publications I have tried wherever possible to use portions of existing titles in formulating the new. But it is impossible to make composite names which will reflect the names of all the constituent groups without resorting to long and awkward combinations. I hope that the sacrifices involved in the merging of the identities of the different organizations in existence will not stand in the way of realizing a new society which will be of greater benefit to all professional members and to the intelligent public from whom we receive our support and for whom is destined ultimately all that we do as teachers, artists or museum workers.

In order to effect such desirable unification I urge respectfully the officers and the members of the different organizations to consider very seriously the foregoing recommendations at their next regular or special meeting and to appoint a committee which will meet with similar committees chosen by other societies to discuss steps by which the new organization might be created. To that end copies of this communication are being sent to the secretaries of the societies alluded to and to the editors of their respective publications: American Federation of Art, American Society of Aesthetics, American Society of Architectural Historians, Archaeological Institute of America, Athenaeum, and College Art Association.

DIMITRI TSELOS

New York University

DESIGN AT KANSAS

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I think since you have expressed an interest in this Department that you might be interested in the manner in which we conduct our classes. We have a rather large Department with about three hundred fifty students. We have a major in interior design, design, commercial art, fashion illustration, art education and occupational therapy. We work from a professional point of view with the objective of teaching the students to go directly into a job when they have completed their four years. All of the design problems from the sophomore year on and a few of the freshman problems in design are presented to the students under definitely stated commercial studio requirements so that the students work is saleable while they are in school. I have made contacts with typical manufacturing companies in all producing fields of design, securing from them the exact restrictions and requirements in each field in order that designs may be presented in a professional manner.

We do many textile designs for the companies in New York City including Scalamandré, Waverly, Barrett and different drapery companies. We have made plate designs for Syracuse China Company and Shenango Pottery Company. We do numerous gift wrapping papers, playing card designs and other designing in different fields too numerous to mention.

One interesting example of our work this year has been our contact with the International Silver Company. They were extremely interested in the fact that a school was interested in designing flatsilverware so they went to great pains to explain to us the processes and manner of presenting the design to them. We completed a series of flat silverware designs for them last semester. They were so pleased with the group that they have asked us to design silver tea pots and coffee pots this semester. These designs will be submitted next month.

In our advertising department we follow the same policy, working directly for firms as near as it is possible. It makes the work much more interesting to the students and they are ready for

a job when they graduate.

MARJORIE WHITNEY Department of Design

The University of Kansas

TRANSLATION OF LETTER FROM DAGOBERT FREY

DEAR MR. HASSOLD,

I have read with very great interest your article "The Baroque as a Basic Concept of Art" in the COLLEGE ART JOURNAL. Your careful treatment of my book Gotik und Renaissance has pleased me especially, since you emphasized just those basic ideas that are essential to me. Your critical analysis was all the more valuable to me since I am planning a new edition, in which I would like to treat not only of the literature that has appeared since the first edition, but expand certain chapters, respectively, add new ones. Thus I want above all to discuss in greater detail 1) the significance of 16th century Mannerism for intellectual history, and 2) the peculiar relations between twentieth century philosophy and art. I cannot agree with

Benedetto Croce's view of the Counterreformation. But I do believe that the Counter-reformation is not to be regarded as the cause of either Mannerism or Baroque, but as a symptom, especially in the realm of ecclesiastical politics, of a deep intellectual crisis. In regard to the second point, it would correspond to your demand of a study of "the rise of a new mode of conception in contemporary arts and sciences." It was also very interesting to me that you demand further the continuation of the studies of the "relation of Eastern and Western Culture." This task I have recently completed in the last year of the war and its immediate aftermath. It is already in print and will appear, this year I hope, in the Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte, which I am again editing in the new Austria. It is an essay on the comparison of Egyptian, Mesopo-Greek, Christian-Western, Byzantian-Russian, Indian and Chinese Art with the title "Space and Time in the Art of the African-Eurasian High Culture." When the Jahrbuch appears, I will send you an off-print which is also to appear in book form. Even sooner, very soon, I hope to be able to send you a new book, Basic Questions of the Science of Art, Prolegomena to a Philosophy of Art, which is in print. The aim of all my work is a final book on the Work of Art as Creation and Symbol, in which I would like to apprehend the work of Art not only as aesthetic object but in its totality, especially also in its sociological and psychological living function. Since I have also been entrusted with the direction of the Institute for Austrian Art Research of the Bundesdenkmalamtes, I am unfortunately busy with many urgent tasks of reconstruction which postpone my chief work.

Since your essay which is so important to me has only been loaned to me, may I ask you to be so good as to send me a copy. I would be extremely grateful too if you could direct me to the most important American literature that has appeared during the war on intellectual history, philosophy of art, and the study of symbols. I would also suggest an exchange of books, though in a modest form, since we have, at the moment, little to offer.

DAGOBERT FREY

Bundesdenkmalamt, Vienna

BAD TITLE

SIR:

I read with great interest the article by Mr. Wallace Rosenbauer on "The Function of Ornament." I find his analysis excellent, even though I do not entirely share his confidence in the solution he suggests. Like Mr. Rosenbauer, I disliked the title which you attached to my own article ["Modern Design does not need Ornament"] and felt it contradicted the spirit of what I said. Perhaps it would be helpful to all of us, if you would be kind enough to publish this disclaimer of my responsibility for the title.

EDGAR KAUFMANN, JR. Museum of Modern Art, New York

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TO EUROPE AGAIN

A number of scholars, artists and students will be undertaking travel to England, France and Italy this summer. Meyer Schapiro (Columbia) is already in France; Millard Meiss (Columbia) will be in France and Italy from June through November; Chandler (Harvard) will revisit Spain; George (Harvard) is going to Greece and Turkey in the autumn to take part in excavations at Tarsus. Sumner Crosby (Yale) left for France early in May to continue his work on Saint Denis. Haydn Huntley (Northwestern) will go to England to work on the history of schools of design in the early nineteenth century.

H. W. Janson (Washington University) aided by grants from the Frick Collection and the American Philosophical Society will work on the completion of a photographic collection of the sculpture of Donatello begun by the late Hungarian scholar, Jeno Lanyi. He will also continue his research on the iconography of monkeys in the art of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Philip Guston (Washington University) has received a Guggenheim fellowship in painting and will go to Italy in the autumn.

Among the graduate students at Harvard, Hylton A. Thomas, James W. Thompson, John M. Maxon and James W. Fowle will study abroad this summer.

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF FRANCE

The American Institute of France, 25 East 64th Street, New York and 96 Boulevard Raspail, Paris, has been formed by private educators in the United States and France to make it possible for exceptionally qualified American scholars, teachers and students to study in France, and is of special interest to students of the history of art. At present no financial help is available, but expert counselling can be obtained.

COOK'S TOUR

Walter W. S. Cook, Director of New York University Institute of Fine Arts, recently returned from a lecture tour in the midwest. Dr. Cook reports a demand for art history teachers and museum workers far exceeding the number of trained persons available. During March and April his office received over thirty notifications of vacancies in these fields.

The JOURNAL will report staff changes and new teaching positions in the Autumn issue.

WRITE YOUR CONGRESSMAN

The American Federation of Arts has written to its membership calling their attention to the small art collections purchased by the State Department during the last two years for circulation abroad. This phase of the program has been the cause of vigorous attack by certain elements of the general press and radio. Members of the professional art world are urged to acquaint the Secretary of State and their Congressional Representatives of their views and interests on this subject.

The Progressive Citizens of America is sponsoring a petition to President Truman on this same subject, written by Henry Billings, Robert M. Coates and Paul Strand.

ART TESTS AT COOPER UNION

Can you tell a good artist from a poor one without ever seeing any of his work?

The Cooper Union Art School, in order to discover valid entrance examinations, that will test art ability rather than previous training, has arranged a series of experiments with psychological "projective" testing techniques. The experiments now being conducted by Dr. Molly R. Harrower, creator of the Harrower adaptation of the Rorschach Test, under the supervision of the Cooper Union Admissions office, may discover a pattern of responses to specially constructed projective tests which will characterize the artist of ability.

"The so-called projective techniques, unlike the standard psychological tests, have no right or wrong answers, but provide an opportunity for the individual to reveal his own characteristics and potentialities," Dr. Harrower said.

Dr. Harrower's adaptation of the Rorschach (ink-blot) method, with accompanying lists of "multiple choice" alternatives for the subject to check according to what he "sees" in the ink blot, is being used. She is also including as a corollary experimental test an adaptation of the Goodenough Figure Drawing Test, whereby the student is simply asked to draw a figure.

Creativeness is not a matter of ability to handle a pencil or a paintbrush successfully, but relates to characteristics of the entire personality, Dr. Harrower believes. Her projective techniques may well give clues to the psychologist, trained in interpreting such subject responses, as to an individual's total abilities, she says.

Some of the questions to which Dr. Harrower hopes to find answers through her Cooper Union experiments are: What aspects of the personality picture are emphasized in the creative individual? Must the creative individual be free from personality problems in order to function effectively? Or can the creative individual utilize his art as a means of maintaining a personality balance? Is there a certain type of personality that finds its best medium in the more formal aspects of architecture as opposed to the more emotional warmth of working in color? Could one predict from personality studies alone those art students who are going to make the most spectacular contribution to their subject?

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Answer to this last question is the principal concern of the Cooper Union Art School, to which admission without tuitional charge is by competitive examinations. For years, the School has been working with the problem of devising these tests so that native ability rather than previous art training will be tested. If Dr. Harrower's experiments prove successful in finding definite patterns of response to her tests to indicate positive art ability, they may be used as part of the regular admissions testing procedure for the Cooper Union Art School.

PACIFIC ART REVIEW

The Pacific Art Review, suspended since 1944 because of wartime shortages, resumes publication with volume IV, 1945-46. It contains illustrated articles on medieval book painting, Indian art of the Northwest, decorative arts, and wartime painting in China. Published by M. H. De Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco, three dollars for four issues.

ARCHITECTURAL REVIEW

The Architectural Review announces that subscriptions are available to American readers at the rate of \$8 per year. Address 13, Queen Anne's Gate, Westminster, S.W. 1.

Mr. Nikolaus Pevsner, one of its editors and a well known architectural historian in England, has recently been travelling in the United States.

NOTE TO ART HISTORIANS

Norman Rockwell: The People's Painter is pictured and profiled in the April issue of Corones,

FAENZA REVIEW

Faenza, the review of the history and techniques of ceramics published by the Museum of Ceramics at Faenza, Italy, announces subscription rates of 1000 lire per year for foreign countries.

GENEVA MUSEUM BULLETIN

Genava, the bulletin of the Museum of Art and History of Geneva, Switzerland is available to foreign subscribers. The subscription price for Volume XXIII, 1945, 300 pages abundantly illustrated, is 10 Swiss francs.

NEBRASKA PURCHASES

The Annual Exhibition of Twentieth Century Painting and Sculpture was held at the University of Nebraska Fine Arts Department during the month of March, and purchase recommendations were made by Dwight Kirsch, Chairman of the Department, with Howard Devree of the New York Times and Henry R. Hope of Indiana University acting as advisors. The following works were recommended for purchase for the Hall Collection of the University. Oil Paintings: Walt Kuhn, The Guide, Stuart Davis, Arch Hotel, Kurt Roesch, Battle of the Insects; Watercolor: James Lechay, Inner Harbor, East Gloucester; Drawings: George Bellows, Tin Can Battle, San Juan Hill, N.Y., Alexander Brook, Nude, Darrel Austin, Mother and Daughter; Monoprint: Harry Bertoia, Composition; Sculpture: Robert Laurent, Seated Nude.

In addition the Nebraska Art Association purchased an oil painting by Lyonel Feininger entitled City Moon. There were also numerous sales to members of the Association.

SYMPOSIUM OF GRADUATE STUDENTS

A symposium of graduate students in the history of art was held at New York University Institute of Fine Arts on April 4. Papers were read by students from Bryn Mawr, Columbia, Yale, Harvard and New York University.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

The Department of Art at Stanford University under the direction of Ray Faulkner, Executive Head, has been reorganized this year to include the Thomas Welton Stanford Art Gallery, The Stanford Museum, and the instructional program in art. This change makes possible an integrated program of teaching, exhibition, and museum facilities.

Plans are under way to increase the offering in architectural and industrial design and historical studies. The Art Gallery has a series of varied, temporary exhibitions, and a permanent display of the Leventritt collection of Oriental and European art. The Museum, now closed for inventory, is being reorganized so that it will form a part of the instructional programs in art and other disciplines.

TIFFANY FOUNDATION REORGANIZED

Following the sale of the Tiffany collection and property at Oyster Bay, the Louis Comfort Tiffany Foundation has been reorganized and will offer a number of \$2000 scholarships in painting, sculpture, the graphic arts and handicrafts. Applications should be sent to 1083 Fifth Avenue, New York before October, 1947.

ART EDUCATION CONFERENCE

The Committee on Art Education sponsored by the Museum of Modern Art in New York held its Fifth Annual Conference at the Museum from April 25 to 27. Featured on the program were visits to the studios of Ozenfant, Zorach, Maldarelli, Hayter and De-Creeft; demonstrations by students of the Erasmus Hall High School and Albert D. Jacobson of the War Veterans' Art Center at the Museum. Speakers were: Victor D'Amico, Nelson Rockefeller, Waldo Frank, Walter Gropius and Viktor Lowenfeld, and many others.

Of special interest to college art teachers was the section on experimental courses for the college and art school conducted by Hale Woodruff of New York University with contributions by Mervin Jules of Smith College, Robert D. Feild of Sophie Newcomb College and David H. Reider of the Albright Art Gallery.

IOWA CONFERENCE

The annual art conference of the University of Iowa was held at Iowa City on April 18 and 19. Guest speakers were Robert Gwathmey (artist), Edwin Ziegfeld (Teacher's College), Henry R. Hope (Indiana), Edward Rannells (Kentucky), Mrs. Blake-More Godwin (Toledo Museum), Lester Longman, E. T. Peterson and Earl Harper (Iowa).

Exhibitions were held of work by Iowa high school students and art teachers. Prizes were awarded by Paul Parker (Des Moines Art Center).

ARCHITECTURAL RESTORATIONS EXHIBIT

An exhibition of about 50 before and after photographs of historical buildings restored by Thomas T. Waterman was held during March at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts.

RESIGNS DIRECTORSHIP

Theodore Sizer has resigned from the position of Director of the Yale University Art Gallery for reasons of health. He has been granted a year's leave of absence and will continue as Professor of the History of Art.

CUYP COWS

Landscape with cattle, a large oil painting by Aelbert Cuyp is a recent addition to the Charles Parsons collection of Washington University, Saint Louis.

TEN WEEKS IN VENICE

Two artists, Edward Melcarth and David Hill, are organizing a summer course in painting to be held in Venice from June 23 to August 29, and called Bottega Veneziana.

LOCAL SCENE AT MAINE

An exhibition of watercolors by Vincent A. Hartgen, head of the art de-

partment at the University of Maine, depicting his impressions of the Maine landscape was displayed during February at the University Art Gallery. Parts of the exhibition was shown later at Pennsylvania State Teachers College. requ for

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HITCHCOCK COLLECTION

Wesleyan University exhibited Henry-Russell Hitchcock's collection of paintings and drawings during March. Included are works by Austin, Berman, Burne-Jones, Burra, Corbusier, Leonid, Ruskin, Tobey, Tunnard and others.

Prof. Hitchcock was recently elected an Honorary Corresponding member of the R.I.B.A.

RESEARCH IN AMERICAN ART

The American Art Research Council (Whitney Museum) requests information on all graduate theses in American art now in progress and will attempt to act as a clearing house of information thus helping to avoid duplication. The Council is concerned particularly with painting, sculpture and the graphic arts. The Society of Architectural Historians (C. I., V. Meeks, Yale) would appreciate receiving similar information on architectural subjects.

ART MAJORS' SHOW

The work of seven senior art majors at Albion College was exhibited during a part of April and May at the College library.

SUMMER CRAFTS

The University of Tennessee and Pi Beta Phi School will conduct a Crafts workshop at Gatlinburg, Tennessee from June 16 to July 23.

MEDIEVAL WORLD EXHIBITION

Life Magazine has arranged a series of panels based on the two recent articles on the Medieval Spirit, available to educational institutions without cost. Forty-four college art departments have requested the exhibition. A few sets are for sale, price: \$35.

SULLIVANIA

The first comprehensive exhibition of the work of Louis Sullivan was held by the Institute of Modern Art in Boston through March and April, later moving to M.I.T., and to the Minneapolis Institute of Arts. It will also be shown at Cincinnati, Louisville, St. Louis, Cleveland, and Detroit.

A new edition of Sullivan's Kindergarten Chats has just been published

by Wittenborn.

Roosevelt University has taken over Sullivan's Auditorium Building in Chicago, used during the war by USO, and has announced that the famed theatre will be restored.

BAYER-BAUHAUS

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An exhibition of Herbert Bayer and the Bauhaus was held in April at the Rhode Island School of Design in Providence and will be shown later in other cities. In connection with the exhibit, Alexander Dorner's book, The Work of Herbert Mayer has just been published.

RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP FOR HELMUT SCHLUNK

American friends of Dr. Helmut Schlunk will be pleased to hear that recently an anonymous American donor has given a Research Fellowship in the amount of \$1,200 for Dr. Helmut Schlunk, in memory of the late Dr. Adolph Goldschmidt, formerly Professor in the University of Berlin.

Dr. Schlunk, Ph.D. (Berlin University) 1930, travelled in Spain, 1930-32, on behalf of the Spanish Commission of the Prussian Academy of Berlin. He held the Elizabeth Proctor Fellowship at Princeton University (1933-34) and was a Fellow of the Institute for Advanced Studies, Princeton, N.J. (1934-35). In 1935 he gave as Lecturer a course on early Christian to Mozarabic art in the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University.

He was Curator of early Christian and Byzantine art in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum in Berlin (1934-42). From 1940-42 he served as interpreter for French and in 1942 was appointed by the late classical scholar of Berlin, Dr. Rodenwald, as Director of the Archaeologisches Institut at Madrid, where during the next three years, he built up a large and important mediaeval archaeological library. He now lives at Calle Cristobal Bordiu, 45-5 izqu, in Madrid, Spain.

Since 1928 Dr. Schlunk has assembled material for the history of late antique, early Christian and Pre-Romanesque art in western Europe, especially in Spain, and he hopes to publish this during the next few years. He has just completed a short résumé of Spanish art during the Visigothic and Asturian periods, which will be published in Ars Hispaniae.

WALTER W. S. COOK

PAUL ROSENFELD MEMORIAL

Jerome Mellquist is editing a collection of essays to be published as a Paul Rosenfeld Memorial and would appreciate receiving any material on this American art critic including personal contacts, letters and etc. His address is 128 West 75th Street, New York City.

MODERN MURALS

The new Terrace Plaza Hotel at Cincinnati has commissioned mural decorations from Joan Miro, Sandy Calder, and Saul Steinberg. Miro is working on a mural at the Gourmet Restaurant atop the hotel. Calder will develop a wire sculpture for the lobby (which will be situated on the eighth floor) and Steinberg is to do the south wall of the Skyline Room, main dining room of the

book reviews

KLAUS BERGER, Géricault, Drawings and Watercolors, 34 p., 52 pl. New York, 1946, Bittner. \$12.00.

This book fulfils its avowed intention of illustrating the varied phases of Géricault's artistic interests with drawings chosen to represent all stages of his brief career. The variety of the drawings-largely chosen from American collections-is great as regards size, technique and finish, subject matter, and period. They range in size from "thumbnail" to large folio. The techniques include pen, black chalk, pencil, brush drawing and watercolor on a variety of tinted papers as well as white. There is a nice balance of sketches from nature, compositional studies and finished works. The fifty-three illustrations comprehend an astonishing array of subject matter far surpassing-although including-the well-known phases of Géricault's activities. Particularly to be singled out are the superb studies of bulls (plates 19, 20, 43) and a cat (plate 23); the themes from the antique (plates 14, 15, 18, 19) which give us a chance to divine how great Géricault was when he invaded the field of David and Ingres; and the studies for the Assassination of Fualdes and the Slave Market (plates 44, 45, 48), two large projects with which Géricault, during his last period, intended to continue the tradition of portraying epic contemporary events which he had begun in the Raft of the Medusa. This astonishing variety and complete coverage of Géricault's activities is achieved with little sacrifice on the score of quality. Furthermore twentysix drawings are noted as "Hitherto unpublished." The plates are fully up to the high standard which we have learned to expect from the publisher.

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But Dr. Berger offers us much more than a collection of delightful reproductions: the twenty-nine pages of text and catalogue are an important part of this first book in English on Géricault. After tracing the history of the appreciation of Géricault, the author inquires into the causes of his popularity since the centennial exhibition in 1924, and comes to the conclusion that it is partly because: "By the way he welds old and new into an organic unit, and discovers artistic 'elective affinities' in every age, Géricault has become the first of a new type of artist," and partly because his "drawing impresses us as 'modern'-modern in the sense that everything great is modern."

Dr. Berger divides the work of Géricault into five periods. The first lasts until 1816 and is characterized by drawing for expression rather than depiction, Already he had pronounced talent for showing "spontaneous movement and for translating temperament into line." The second period (1816-17) covers his trip to Italy, where his study of the great masters of the Renaissance gave him greater discipline in formal arrangement, He learned to sacrifice the "natural" and the accidental to the demands of construction. The third period (1817-1820) was the time of the creation of the Raft of the Medusa when he came under strong baroque influence. The fourth period (1820-22) coincides with Géricault's stay in England. His watercolors and wash drawings demonstrate that he was then concerned with problems of color and texture which he succeeded in fusing with the expression of his earliest work and the constructional outline he had learned in Italy. His last period (1822-24) is the brief interlude before his death and is not clearly distinguished from his English period.

The catalogue is scholarly and interesting since it contains criticism and historical notes on the works illustrated. We owe thanks to both the author and the publisher for a beautiful and most useful book on one of the most important of modern artists. Géricault is already well-known in America; this work should make him better understood.

G. HAYDN HUNTLEY Northwestern University

LLOYD GOODRICH, Winslow Homer, viii + 241 p., 63 pl. New York, 1944, Macmillan. \$7.50.

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Mr. Goodrich has written the standard volume on Homer, standard in being a mark of excellence to be emulated. This reviewer, however, hesitates as yet to call it the definitive book. Although, published in 1944, it seems complete and decisive, it may not be the final word as to Homer's quality as an oil painter. Homer's reputation is now at its zenith for both oils and water-colors, yet this reviewer expects for the oils a reaction, slight at first and then increasing, to set in over the years. Judging from opinions heard at random the reaction may already have started. Not that Mr. Goodrich is unaware that the oils do not come up to the water-colors. He quotes a passage from a review by Henry James written in 1875 to show that, for James, Homer in his oils lacked grace, intellectual detail, reflected light, and that he avoided thinking, imagining, selecting, refining, and composing, and that he was, in fact, in one oil "damnably ugly." Mr. Goodrich himself sums up by saying that Homer's "oils never caught up with his water-colors in brilliancy, economy of means, essential artistry, nor in that pure visual sensuousness that was the most precious element in his art and without which naturalistic competence was worthless." This indicates the true sense of propor-

But there were a number of times when, so it seems to this reviewer, that pure visual sensuousness failed Homer in his oils and then all his naturalistic competence was worthless. It is for this

reason that, as soon as observers and critics discover for themselves which these oils were, a reaction may be expected. Although Mr. Goodrich, like the excellent researcher he is, reports fully on most of the paintings so that the reader obtains an idea of how Homer lived, thought, and worked with them, the point is that the author sometimes does not realize how weak the painting is. Take the case of On A Lee Shore. Mr. Goodrich writes of it: "It culminated the long process of purification his art had gone through since his storytelling pictures of the 1880's. Here was no mere photographic naturalism but an expression of his special gift for pattern and space composition. It was the essence of his artistic contribution, freed of non-artistic elements." Frankly, this reviewer, who has had a chance to look at On A Lee Shore again in the recent instructive show of a hundred Homer oils, water-colors, and drawings at the Wildenstein Galleries, feels that it merely makes renewed use of the compositional device of the cloud of flung spume that characterized Northeaster and Cannon Rock without being so good, because not so well organized, a picture. Those others, like Coast In Winter also, had depth of local color but were not so empty. To us of to-day who are accustomed to see the whole of a canvas designed and evoking some pattern and/ or feeling, the very large canvases of Winslow Homer appear sometimes vacuous. Mr. Goodrich speaks of their "pondered design," but it can be ponderous, too. Where, as in The Fox Hunt, or Coast in Winter, both vast pictures, there is a hint of Oriental patterning, we are better pleased. But in Driftwood, possibly Homer's last picture, the organization is not commensurate with the wildness and the vastness the painter wanted to portray. We must set this down, the reviewer thinks, to Homer's lack of ability to confine his composition or-the obverse-to broaden his imagination when his brush worked on a larger scale. Mr. Goodrich gives merited enough praise to that fine effort, West Point Pront's Neck, of 1900, but here again, although he speaks of the painting's power and of its freshness of color, he fails to hint at its rawness. It is this rawness of color that keeps Homer from joining the ranks of the great masters in oil in these particular paintings.

The present reviewer feels that emptiness and rawness will eventually be pointed out as Homer's major defects. Mr. Goodrich indeed says of him that he lacked the deeply emotional apprehension of form of the supreme masters, but does not sufficiently analyze, one feels, the great sea-paintings, Northeaster, Cannon Rock and Eastern Point for their virtues and defects.

On nearly everything else this reviewer is in literal agreement with Mr. Goodrich, who has written a thoroughly delightful book. It has 96 plates, chronology, bibliography, notes, and an appreciative essay by the painter's friend, John W. Beatty. Mr. Goodrich has done us an invaluable service of pointing out that the reason Homer gave up engraving was because he had discovered watercolor in 1874. Thereafter, at Minerva in the Adirondacks, at Gloucester, and at Lakes Tourilli and St. John in the Province of Quebec, as also in the West Indies, whatever he discovered through water-color may have helped his oils. But the latter never really did catch up, even when he took the ladies out of them.

> JAMES W. LANE National Gallery of Art

GERMAIN SELIGMAN, The Drawings of Georges Seurat. 94 p. 46 pl. New York, 1947, Curt Valentin. \$15.00.

As Seurat seems to be superseding Cézanne, in recent criticism, in the role of "real chief of the revolutionary cubists and abstract artists," the systematic exploration of his complete work is very timely. The author of the present study holds that the previous publications by

Cousturier, Rey, Coquiot, de Laprade, Goldwater, and Rewald concentrate too much on Seurat's "great seven" compositions, and neglect the drawings, about four hundred of which have been preserved.

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These are sharply divided by Mr. Seligman into "related" and "unrelated ones"; the former are studies for known paintings, whereas the later, made "for his personal enjoyment . . . follow an entirely separate trend." "It is as if the great master, concurrently with his accomplishments in oil, had undertaken an entirely separate task unrelated to the other" (p. 21). In other words, the author's intention is to reveal another Seurat, the unknown draughtsman.

Mr. Seligman states that the great paintings which he calls "official products," follow an impersonal and "scientific" evolution while the independent drawings alone reveal the artist's thus far hidden emotional personality, characterized by humility and austerity (p. 35).

The features common to all unrelated drawings are: mass, volume, weight, and three-dimensionalism, in sharp contrast to the studies for paintings, which show a progressive "flattening of space." One of the studies for the Parade, however, (Catalogue No. 22) has such a pronounced "spacial quality . . . that although it is a related drawing it could be considered an independent one" (p. 21).

In splitting Seurat's production the author wishes to emphasize that only the "official" paintings betray a stylistic progression, while in the unrelated drawings and some "informal" paintings, done over the same period, "subject and mood were his sole problems irrespective of the separate development of his style" (p. 22). Consequently the latter should not be classifiable chronologically; but by grouping drawings "technically and stylistically belonging to gether" into three main sections and three sub-sections and thereby reaching conclusions as to dating, the author has

very convincingly demonstrated that there is a stylistic development, thus undermining his thesis.

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In going through the plates of the unrelated drawings one can indeed perceive the consistent development of Seurat's style in these drawings, very distinct, of course, from his pictorial style. Had the author chosen to delve more deeply into this very central problem, his study would have been of greater value.

It is in the penetrating analysis of individual drawings that Mr. Seligman shows a distinguished connoisseurship, and the text makes interesting reading despite certain trivial or awkward expressions. The catalogue is done with great care, but since only drawings in this country are studied and even in this field completeness is not intended, one wonders why thirteen more items are listed than those shown in the reproductions. To the very inclusive bibliography shouuld be added the contributions of Roger Fry and Ozenfant, among the first to point out Seurat's signficance.

To sum up, the assets of this publication are to have raised the problems of Seurat's free drawing style, to have given some suggestions for their solution, and to have brought together some of the best and most important documents of the art of drawing in an extremely handsome volume. Indeed the plates render the velvet-like quality of these conté crayon drawings superbly. Any college library should consider the acquisition of this book, if only for the reproductions, half of which are not included in any other work on Seurat. The only other publication devoted exclusively to Seurat's drawings (Gustave Kahn, Les Dessins de Georges Seurat, 2 vols., Paris, 1928), long out of print, is available in only a very few libraries in America.

KLAUS BERGER Washington, D.C. ALFRED H. BARR, JR., Picasso—Fifty Years of His Art. 314 p., 330 ill. (7 in color). New York, 1946. The Museum of Modern Art. \$6.00.

It is a special tribute to the excellence of the catalogues issued by the Museum of Modern Art that so many of them are sold out within a short time after publication and become unobtainable except at premium prices. Picasso-Forty Years of His Art, the catalogue of the great Picasso retrospective exhibition of 1939, has been no exception to this general rule: it went through several printings in rapid order, but the demand for it so exceeded the available supply that a new edition has been eagerly awaited for a number of years. Now that this new edition has finally reached us, we have every reason to be thankful for the war-time difficulties which delayed it for so long. While the present volume incorporates all the material of the original catalogue and acknowledges its relation to its predecessor even in the title, it is a work of far greater scope and completeness, so that it almost merits the status of an entirely new publication. The most important feature of the Fifty Years is not merely the increase in the number of illustrations or the very considerable additions to the text, but rather a change in point of view. The Picasso exhibition, admirable as it was, had inevitably suffered from certain important omissions, and the Forty Years, conceived primarily as an elaborate exegesis of the works included in the show, did not quite overcome this handicap. In the Fifty Years, on the other hand, the choice of material is no longer influenced by the contents of the exhibition. By judiciously filling in the weak spots of the earlier work-actually over one third of the Fifty Years consists of new material-Alfred Barr has achieved what will probably remain for many years to come the best-balanced and most comprehensive study of Picasso's stupendous career. Perhaps the book might best be described

as the catalogue of an ideal Picasso exhibition, for the material is still presented in the form of an annotated catalogue, which places the burden of continuity on the plates rather than on the text. The great advantage of this method is, of course, that it has permitted the author to compress a vast amount of research and study into a comparatively limited space and thus to keep the price of the volume within the financial range of the general public. For the casual reader, the text may be too compact; but then the subject itself is not one to reward mere passing attention. Fundamentally, the work of Picasso is no different from that of any other artist of similiar stature in the severe demands it makes upon the public. Unfortunately, in our era of digests and popularizations, few are willing to meet these demands, and the literature on modern art has, as a whole, catered alarmingly to the universal desire for short-cuts. In dealing with Picasso, whose name has almost become a synonym for incomprehensibility with the general public, oversimplification is particularly tempting and dangerous. It is the great merit of Alfred Barr that he has steadfastly refused to make any concessions in this respect, even though his book is not addressed to the specialist. Armed with the vast factual knowledge resulting from fifteen years of continuous contact with his subject, he calmly sets out to organize into a coherent pattern what he calls "the complex but. in the end, recognizable counter point in Picasso's development." His methods are as varied as the problems he has had to face; he may at times proceed like a cautious philologist, painstakingly weaving together scattered bits of evidence, but when the occasion demands he proves himself equally capable of bold juxtapositions and striking flashes of insight. Yet he is unfailingly lucid, restrained, and imbued with a profound respect for his material.

If, in the introduction, Alfred Barr disclaims any intention to argue an

interpretation or to draw any conclusions, this is true only in the sense that he refuses to provide a general theory applicable to Picasso's entire oeuvre to date, out of the sound conviction that any such attempt would be, to say the least, presumptuous as long as Picasso himself continues to create new forms every year with undiminished vigor. For those already equipped with full-fledged theories about him, Picasso's relentless productivity has come to be an increasingly uncomfortable fact. As a consequence, there has been a considerable tendency since the end of the war to disparage his recent work, apparently on the assumption that at his age Picasso has no right to keep us any longer from wrapping him up in a neat ideological package. Among the cognoscenti, the news that the Great Man has gone stale at last is being whispered about with a curious mixture of regret and relief. It is thus a particular pleasure to read Alfred Barr's thorough and carefully documented study of Picasso's activities since the Nazi occupation of Paris. Of even greater importance perhaps is his extensive presentation of the artist's earliest years, with special emphasis upon the manifold artistic and literary impressions whose influence played a decisive part in moulding Picasso's personality. Another outstanding section of the book is the greatly expanded discussion of Cubism; even though the author has retained the terms "analytical" and "synthetic" for the two main phases of the style-a nomenclature that has never seemed entirely acceptable to this reviewer—he demonstrates much more fully than before the crucial importance of collage, not only for the further development of Cubism itself but also as an important source of inspiration for Surrealism. Here, as throughout the rest of the book, the author's main concern is the strangely prophetic nature of Picasso's genius, which links his development with all the important phases of contemporary art. It is this quality of Picasso that accounts, more than any other,

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H. W. JANSON Washington University

HARRIET and SIDNEY JANIS, Picasso, The Recent Years, 1939-1946, xii + 211 p., including 135 pl. (5 in color). Garden City, 1946, Doubleday. \$7.50.

In spite of the difficulties of life in occupied Paris, perhaps because of them, Picasso produced an extraordinary number of paintings, sketches, collages, constructions, and works of sculpture during the war years. The authors, by means of a visit to Paris in the spring of 1946, had the opportunity of seeing most of this wartime accumulation before it began to be dispersed, and also of obtaining first hand information from the artist and his friends. Their book, published almost simultaneously with Alfred Barr's Picasso: Fifty Years of His Art (reviewed in this issue) offers an abundant supplement of information on this latest period.

Printed on good coated paper of ample format, its foremost value is for the large number of illustrations, many of full-page size and a few in color. These present graphically and incontrovertibly the tremendous vitality and variety of Picasso's work. I wish the authors had been able to include at least one color plate of the paintings in sombre gray, purple and olive green which seem to me, despite the opinion of the New York Times art critic, to have great depth and power.

Instead of the conventional chronological sequence, the illustrations are grouped for the most part according to subject matter: figure paintings with variations in the treatment of the nude; portraits of Miss Dora Maar ranging from idealized naturalism to monstrous dislocations; three or four series of still life themes, the skull and leeks, the omato plant, the lamp and pitcher and others. One of the surprises of the war period is the series of Paris landscapes.

Doubtless they were motivated by a vicarious escape from the confinement of the occupation but they are much more powerful than the occasional landscapes done in the thirties at his Chateau of Boisgeloup and seem to stem from the early cubist paintings at Horta. The two largest paintings of the period are the Night Fishing at Antibes (1939), a lyrical subject raised to a high pitch of dramatic intensity, and the unfinished Charnel House (1944) which is a variation on the Guernica theme of expressionistic suffering.

There are several photographs of the recent gallery exhibitions held in Paris and London that have documentary value, and of equal interest are those picture subtitles which give the full date of the painting. It is unfortunate that full dates were not obtainable for every picture, but there is a limit to a man's patience—even Picasso's. One of the best illustrations is the frontispiece, a beautiful photograph of Picasso standing in his studio beside a fuelless stove, taken by Francis Lee during the winter of 1944-45.

The authors' comments accompanying the illustrations provide some of the most enlightening passages, even though not every reader will agree with them. Two or three of the paintings are compared to photographs of the subject and the analysis, particularly that of the Studio Window (Pl. 21) should be very helpful in bringing about a better understanding of Picasso.

The brief text is addressed to the intelligent reader and is reasonably free of the superficialities and generalizations which are supposed to make art books popular. There are short chapters on the artist at work, his political views and the public reception accorded his work in Paris and London. This review is not the place to make an issue of the complex political question, but I think the authors are misleading when they cite the Blue Period as an example of latent social content. This was an expression of inner life, colored by psychic qualities

that had little bearing on social consciousness. It was not until the Spanish revolution that Picasso's art began to reveal direct images of the vital social problems of our time. But he himself put it better: "It is not necessary to paint a man with a gun. An apple can be just as revolutionary."

The most important part of the text is the chapter entitled "Aesthetic," an essay on Picasso's art. This deals with such aspects of it as his variations on a theme, his use of the object as a point of departure, his simultaneity, distortions, equilibrium and reversals. Most

provocative is the section on the magic quality in his painting. This the authors trace through the influence of the surrealist image back to Picasso's extraordinary grasp of primitive art, which "derives its means of communication from its invention and use of symbols." Such an idea opens the way for a new interpretation of the whole of Picasso's art with less emphasis on the purely formal values, and more on this psychic and collective significance.

HENRY R. HOPE Indiana University



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Rembrands, The Jews and the Bible, by Franz Landsberger (translation by Felix N. Gerson), xviii + 189 p., including 66 ill. Philadelphia, 1946, Jewish Publication Society. \$3.00.

Rubens in America, by Jan Albert Goris and Julius S. Held, 59 p., 120 pl. New York, 1947, Pantheon Books. \$8.50.

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Picasso, Woman reading, Pencil, 1920.



MARC CHAGALL, Eiffel Tower, Ink, 1921 Courtesy of Wittenborn & Company.

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